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Corpus Inscriptionum
Arabicarum Palaestinae
Moshe Sharon

VOLUME THREE
-D-F-



CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM
ARABICARUM PALAESTINAE

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK

HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ERSTE ABTEILUNG DER NAHE UND MITTLERE OSTEN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
H. ALTENMÜLLER · B. HROUDA · B.A. LEVINE · R.S. O'FAHEY
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DREISSIGSTER BAND CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICARUM PALAESTINAE



CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM
ARABICARUM PALAESTINAE
(CIAP)

VOLUME THREE

— D — F —

BY

MOSHE SHARON



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Pessah Shinar
Senior colleague and friend
rare combination of
greatness and humility

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FOREWORD

The third volume of the *CIAP* covers the sites whose names begin with the letters D, E, and F. Following the method established in the previous volumes each site is introduced with detailed study of its history and geography and the inscriptions are studied against their historical and cultural background. In this manner the *Corpus* contributes to the geography and history of various parts of the Holy Land under Islam viewed against the wider context of the country's historical geography. The geographical scope of this volume covers the whole country from Eilat in the south to Fīq in the north. The historical span is also very extensive and covers the whole of the Islamic era from the early Umayyads until the end of the Ottoman period.

There are many inscriptions that seem at first of little value. They are usually repetitions of invocations; but when seen against their historical and geographical background they become meaningful for understanding the "mood of the time" in which they were engraved, in addition to their contribution to Arabic Palaeography.

This volume also contains material belonging to the previous volumes. This material is of two kinds: first, studies of inscription missed or newly discovered, in the sites with names beginning with the letters A, B, C; and second, corrections to the previous volumes suggested by myself and the readers. I wish to express my deep gratitude to these readers who added a few pairs of eyes, so much needed for the reading of inscriptions. Professor Werner Diem in particular indulged himself in a meticulous study of the *CIAP* and suggested corrections to my readings, many of which I was happy to accept, and append to this volume under his name, as *corrigenda* to *CIAP* vol. 1. I was very impressed with the diligence of Professor Diem, and his willingness to go as far as suggesting even the shape of the brackets, or the omission of hyphens. Any author should be honoured when a work of his is studied so seriously. He drew my attention to the fact that in our age of computers and word processors we are exposed to making even more typographical mistakes than in the not so old times of the linotype. I owe him much thanks and sincere gratitude. There are many volumes of *CIAP* ahead, and each volume will contain not only my own corrections and additions, but also corrections and suggestions of such faithful readers like Professor Diem, thus keeping the *Corpus* as up to date, and as accurate as possible. Sometimes, in cases of unsatisfactory reading of an inscription on my part, I

still publish its reproduction hoping that in the future, other eyes would be more successful than mine.

In referring to the sites, I usually, but not always, use the modern names, as they appear in the present maps, followed by older names. I also follow the current pronunciation of the names rather than the artificial classical ones, but I always indicate the names according to the rules of the classical language. Thus I preferred the colloquial *Ein* which contributed to this volume most of the sites in the letter E, to the classical *Ayn*.

A few sites do not exist any more, but there are references to inscriptions discovered in them by the Inspectors of Antiquities of the British Mandatory Government. Some of their reports contain photographs, and sometimes the reading of inscriptions *in situ*. When only the reading of the inscriptions exists in the files of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) I referred to these readings, and whenever possible reproduced their copies.

From this volume onwards there will be two grid references to the standard map (scale: 1:100 000) (Israel Grid) and the second is N. Is. Gr. (New Israel Grid). The new grid system appears now on all newly issued maps. According to the new system the longitude is increased by 50 and the latitude by 500; when the latitude is above 500 then it is decreased by 500. In this manner mistakes are avoided when longitudes and latitudes have the same, or nearly the same values.

I take this opportunity to extend my thanks to the IAA for its logistic help in my fieldwork, and for allowing me to use the archives at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. Here credit is rightly due to Ms. Yael Barshak of the IAA, who saw to the prompt supply of the needed photographic copies from the IAA archives in Jerusalem; as well as to Moshe Hartal and the photographic services of the IAA at the Museum in Qatzrin for supplying the photographs of the inscriptions from Fīq.

The excavations, which are in process in many places in the country, and the continuous archeological surveys, yield additional material to the *Corpus*. A considerable amount of this material comes from the city of Ramleh, and enriches my files about this town, but many inscriptions have been discovered elsewhere, and found their way into this volume. Sometimes I referred to inscriptions belonging to later entries when I felt that they were needed to elucidate a point or add information to the study of a particular inscription.

Many colleagues, friends and students have extended their help during the preparation of the material for this volume. It gives me pleasure to thank Albert Arazi, David Amit, Yehuda Dagan, Haim Ben David, Yohanan Fried-

man, Isaac Hasson, Alla Nagorsky, Dov Nahlieli, Joseph Patrich, Yosef Porat (who supplied me with material from Caesarea, 'Ein Zurayb, and Faṣā'il), and the late Haim Ron for their professional advise on many subjects connected with the *loci* of various inscriptions, and other issues related to their contents. Thanks are also due to Reuven Amitai, Ariel Berman, 'Umar Badrieh, Amikam Elad, Leigh Chipman, Amnon Cohen, and Roni Ellenblum for their continual willingness to help.

With deep gratitude I acknowledge the invaluable assistance extended to me by Professor Vassilios Tzaferis, who graciously agreed to review the Greek material in this volume contributing, without any reservation, his time and knowledge.

Special thanks are always due to my senior colleague Professor Pesah Shinar, whose 90th birthday was celebrated at the end of January 2004, just when the composition of this volume was finished. He has never refused me his unusually vast knowledge of world culture, and perfect command of Arabic, Persian, Greek and Latin as well as some dozen other languages.

Linda Egger, my chief research assistant, has contributed to the Project of the *CIAP* in general, and to this volume in particular (as she did, working on the previous volumes), the skills, the dedication and professional ability in many areas. Mrs. Sivan Lerer proof read the whole manuscript and helped preparing it for print, and my wife Judy accompanied the writing of this volume with her professional advise on matters of language and style. My son Daniel Sharon contributed to the volume some of the maps and plans.

Photo Garo and its proprietor Mardiros Nalbandian, and his artist photographer son Garo Nalbandian, supply the photographic services to the *CIAP*. Their professional service has by now developed into deep friendship. May they all be blessed.

M. Sharon
Jerusalem, March 2004

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA
TO CIAP 1

ADDENDA

1. TO ASHQELON

17

Epitaph of a Muslim

Shawwāl 1133/22 July–24 August 1721

A slab of limestone 0.36x0.30m, once attached to a wall of a structure over a tomb; found in an unspecified place at Ashqelon, ('Asqalān), and placed in the custody of the IAA. (IAA No. 1958-822; storage No. 010106040402. Negative No. 1-80516) 5 lines, each in a sunken frame; monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, in relief, points, no vowels. (Fig. Add.1)

١) كل من عليها فان ويبقي (!) وجه ٢) ربك ذي (!) الجلال (!) والإكرام ٣) هذا قبر المرحوم
السيد عمر ابن (!) ٤) الحاج علي آغا طبجي باشي توفي ٥) في شهر شوال سنة ١١٣٣
الفاخرة

Everyone upon it passes away, but the face of thy Lord full of glory and honour doth endure. (Q. 55:27 trans. Bell) This is the tomb of the late Sayyid 'Umar son of the *hājī* 'Alī Āghā Ṭubjī Bāshī who died in the month of Shawwāl, the year 1133 (=26 Jul.-24 Aug. 1721). The *fātiḥah* (is read for the salvation of his soul).

Ll. 1-2: On the one hand the inscription and its field were perfectly produced, on the other, one wonders about the obvious mistakes in the Qur'ānic verses, (Q. 55:25-27) frequently used on Muslim tombs, reflecting the greatness and eternity of Allah in comparison with the temporality and worthlessness of physical reality. The writer of the text knew by heart the verse (Q. 55:27), in which the word *jalāl* is in the genitive case, and thought that it should finish with a *yā'*. It seems that even the people who knew how to read and write, learnt the Qur'ān from hearing, and made mistakes when they wrote down verses from memory. This mistake, however, is quite strange, and could have been caused only from the reproduction of the sound of the word as it was heard and recited.

The other mistake is the word *dhī* instead of *dhū* of the Qur'ān before the word *jalāl*. Here one cannot ascribe the mistake to phonetics or misreading, but simply to ignorance of the Qur'ānic text, and to an attempt of wrong

syntactical harmonization. The writer related the word *dhū* to the word *rabika* which is in the genitive case thus producing a particular Qur'ānic interpretation. In the commonly used Qur'ānic text, the *dhū* in the nominative relates the “glory and honour” to the *Face* of Allah, whereas the writer of the text of this inscription decided that they belong to Allah himself rather than to His face. The Qur'ān interpreters make sure to emphasize the fact that there is a particular theological significance for the reference to God's Face. “This verse is similar to what He be exalted, says, (in another verse, Q, 28:88) ‘everything perishes but his countenance.’ He therefore qualified His *Noble Face* as possessing glory and honour.” (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* 4, 1987: 292 on Q, 55:27). There is however some basis for the reading of *dhī*. While emphasizing, “*dhū* is in the nominative case because it refers to the word face,” Ṭabarī adds that “it has been reported that in the reading of ‘Abdallah (b. Mas‘ūd) it is with *yā*—*dhī al-jalāli wa-al-ikrāmi*—since it is an epithet of the Lord and His qualification.” (‘*alā annahu min nā ti ar-rabbi wa-ṣifatihi*. Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān*, (15) 1988:134). I am quite certain that the writer did not quote Ibn Mas‘ūd's reading.

Ll. 4-5: The deceased is designated here by the title of Sayyid, and his father—‘Alī *Āghā*—is designated here by two titles: *Hājj* and *Ṭubjī Bāshī*; naturally he should also be designated by the title of *sayyid* since his son bears this title. This title signified, before modern times (when it began to be used to mean Mr.), a person who traced his descent to the Prophet's family. Thousands of people all over the Muslim world carry this title that goes with some family tradition about their noble (*sharīf*) descent (with no serious guarantee for its truth). The title of *hājj* needs no explanation, but the titles *āghā* and *ṭubjī bāshī* coming together seem to refer to a military rank and position.

I am quite happy with the reading of *Ṭubjī Bāshī*, which should in fact be Topçu Başı that is to say artillery officer. When first reading the inscription I was misled by what seemed to me a letter between the *tā*’ and the *bā*’, and looked in vein for a word fitting such reading when in fact the title is simply connected with “*top*”—*canon*.

L. 5. The date on the photograph is not very clear. But I am pretty sure about the reading, which places the inscription in the first quarter of the 18th century. (In fig. Add.1. I offered another remote possibility of the date being Shawwāl 1173 (= 17th May—15th June 1760).

2. TO 'AKKO, 'AKKĀ (ACRE)

The Bahā'ī cemetery in the Muslim cemetery of Nabī Ṣāliḥ

The first Bahā'īs in Acre (*CIAP* 1:66f), striving to conceal their identity as much as possible, buried their dead in the Muslim cemetery of Nabī Ṣāliḥ, some two hundred meters to the east of the city wall. They bought a small plot of land directly adjacent to the shrine of Nabī Ṣāliḥ, which they used as a burial place for a short period at the end of the 19th early 20th century. However the place was not used exclusively by Bahā'īs as one can learn from this inscription.

17a

Epitaph of a Muslim

1224/1809

A small slab of marble 0.30x0.50m. broken on top and top left and lost. The stone with the inscription is in the Bahā'ī cemetery adjacent to Nabī Ṣāliḥ but does not belong there, which raises the possibility that the epitaph is not *in situ*. 4 lines, late Ottoman elaborate monumental script in relief; points, no vowels. (Fig. Add. 1a)

.....١) الحاج حسين أ...٢) ساري عسكر المعتوق ٣) أحمد باشا الجزار ٤) الفاتحة ١٢٢٤

(This is the tomb of ?) the ḥājj Ḥusayn ... the general of the manumitted Aḥmad Bāshā al-Jazzār. The *fātiḥah* (recited for the salvation of his soul) 1224 (= 1809)

Unfortunately the word or words after the name Ḥusayn are lost, but there is no question about the position which he held next to Aḥmad al-Jazzār (who died about 5 years earlier in 1219/1804 (on him and his tombstone see *CIAP*, 1:28f and no. 17). *Sārī* 'Askar or in Persian (and Ottoman Turkish) *ser* 'asker, is a description, rather than a military rank, of a general, commander of land forces, seraskier (Steingass *s.v.*). What exactly this meant in connection with al-Jazzār who was the supreme commander of the military forces in his province, I am not sure.

As to Jazzār himself, he is described here as *mā'tūq*, a term used to describe a mamlūk, a manumitted slave (Ayalon 1951:27-28). True, Jazzār was in his far past, while still in Egypt, a mamlūk, but this appellation, as far as I could establish, has never been used for him in the sources. There is a possibility that the term is used here in a figurative sense, meaning: he who is freed from the suffering after death, or from hell-fire.

CORRIGENDA

Once the volume of *CIAP* 1 was published in 1997, and *CIAP* 2 two years later, the inscriptions, accompanied by background and interpretation, have become accessible to scholars. Any additional pair of professional eyes, especially in the case of epigraphy and paleography is bound to see things that escaped the eyes of previous readers. I myself made many corrections after re-reading *CIAP* 1, these corrections I published in *CIAP* 2 (1999). Some I spotted in the process of writing the present volume. Professor Werner Diem of the University of Cologne, contributed a long and detailed review to *CIAP* 1 (Diem, 1999:294-333 and my reaction, Sharon, 2003:305-327) correcting readings and making many useful suggestions, some of which I accepted and some of which I had to reject. Quite a few of Diem's suggestions had already been taken care of in *CIAP* 2 (which was published before Diem's review appeared in print); the rest the readers will find below in this *addenda* and *corrigenda*. By incorporating into every new volume of the *CIAP* new material, discovered after the publication of the previous one, as well as corrections and suggestions referring to the already published volumes of the *CIAP*, the work will be kept as up to date as possible.

In what follows I acknowledge Professor Diem's contributions with the letters WD in brackets. When I modified any of Diem's corrections, WD appears with an additional reference such as "with WD." The references to Diem's review in *JSAL*, 23, 1999 appear in brackets as "1999:..." followed by the number of the page. The entries follow the order of *CIAP*, 1 that was also used in Diem's review.

Abū Dīs 1

P. 1 (Arabic text)

Ll. 1-2. Read: قف زائراً بطلاً هماماً ضيغماً واهديه (!) فاتحة الكتاب تكراً (WD)

Stop to visit a hero, generous and lion-like
And present him with the *fātiḥah* as an honour

L. 2. Read: أطلب له من ربه سحب المرضا [ة] دواً على قبره يتلملماً (!) (WD)

Ask for him from his Lord the clouds of (divine) satisfaction
That should always gather over his tomb.

The *tā' marbūṭah* in the word *mirdāt* is not visible. This corrected reading needs a *tā' marbūṭah* which could well have been in place in the word *mirdāt*, at the end of the first hemistich.

L.3 Read: قل/قد كان مقرئ للضيوف بهمة منه اليمين الى العطاء تكرمًا (mostly WD)

He was very hospitable to the guests, wholeheartedly

His right hand (was stretched) to bestow bounty.

WD also suggested (1999:300) to vowel the last word *takarrumā*, translating: “his right hand being destined to give liberally,” objecting to the verb “*takarramā*” being in the masculine, while the subject *yamīn* being feminine. We have seen, however, that in line 2 the verb *yatalamlamā* is in the masculine form instead of the feminine.

The correction of the first word in l.3 from *qul* to *qad* seems possible but not conclusive. The letter *dāl* elsewhere in the inscription bends forward, and is joined to the previous letter in a peculiar way (e.g. 2nd hemistich l.4). Moreover, since the inscription addresses the visitor using two imperative verbs: *qif!* (halt! Stop! l. 1) and *uṭlub!* (ask for... request l.2) The imperative *qul!* (say! l.3) fits the pattern.

As to the *miqran*—very hospitable, the word fits very well into the text and the reading: قل كان مقرئ للضيوف seems correct. However, the reading قل/قد كان مقرئ للضيوف should not be ruled out. Influenced by the colloquial Arabic, the more common *muqrī* (without any vowelling on the *yā'*) could have well been used here instead of the more literary *miqran* (the more common form of which is *miqrā'*).

L.4 The colloquial deviation is also in the fourth line where Diem suggests to correct the text from *hanā* to *hanā'*. The usage of هنا (without *hamzah*) in the inscription is not accidental. It follows the colloquial usage, which, to my mind, should be given serious consideration in these inscriptions.

The word *maḥmūd* (in “*fa-laka al-hanā maḥmūd nilta sa'ādah*”) refers to the deceased not to the *hanā* which means happiness, bliss, felicity and similar words.

L.5 This is my correction to my original reading of the second hemistich:

أيا عريقات بطل ما زلت متكرما

O 'Urayqāt thou art a hero, forever exalted.

The epitaph began with praising the deceased as a *baṭal*—hero—without identifying him by name. Only at the end of the inscription, his name, 'Urayqāt (colloquial: (I)'reiqāt) appears, again accompanied by *baṭal*, giving the whole inscription solid completeness. It is not accidental that the last (rhyming) word in the first hemistich (*takarrumā*) and the last word of the last hemistich (*mutakarrimā*) are closely related.

L.6. The correction of *li-rawhihi* instead of *ta'rikhuhu* was already made in *CIAP* 2 (Errata).

The date: definitely not 1255 as suggested by Diem. Correct, however, printing mistake of the caption to Fig 1: instead of 1265 read 1295.

Abū Ghūsh 1

P.4 (Arabic text)

L.3. Instead of المؤمنين read: المؤمنـنيـن (WD)

L.5. Instead of [اميال] read: [اميال] (WD)

Abū Ghūsh 4

P.10 (Arabic text)

L.3. Instead of الفضائل read: بالفضائل (WD)

Translate second hemistich: وابو العلى من بالفضائل يحسن

The possessor of sublimity; he who is adorned by virtues.

This, if the verb is vowelled *yahsunu* (WD); but if the vowelling is *yuhsinu*, then the translation is:

“The possessor of sublimity, he who by (virtue of) high qualities is charitable.”

Abū Ghūsh 5

P.12 (Arabic text)

L.2. Instead of سيد read سعيد (WD)

L.5. Instead of السبع read: بالسبع (WD)

‘Abwīn 1

P.14 (Arabic text)

L.4. The missing words in this line were added in *CIAP* 2:xvii (Errata). The text, which eluded my eyes at the time, and corrected by me later is: ولوالديه “and to his parents and its writer and to its reader” namely Allah’s mercy is beseeched for the builder, his parents, the writer of the inscription and whoever reads it. It is a common form of supplication. (Cf. *CIA* 1, *Ville*, No. 2; p.40 n.2)

The term “*a’zza...*” or “*‘azza allāh anṣārahu*,” means in the protocol of honorific terminology: “May Allah glorify his victories,” and not as Diem suggests. See *CIA* 1, *Ville*, No. 91 p. 300 (date: 788): كافل الممالك بالشام عزّ الله

انصاره

Van Berchem's translation:

"Gouverneur général de la province de Damas, qu'Allāh glorifie ses victoires."

See also another example out of many, *CIA* 1, *Ville* No 81; *RCEA*, 15:73 No. 5707):

كافل [الممالك] الشريفة الشامية اعز الله انصاره

Translation (van Berchem (*ibid.*), Wiet *et alii* (*ibid.*), Mayer, *Heraldry*, p. 222):

"gouverneur général de nobles [provinces], à Damas,—qu'Allah/Dieu glorifie ses victoires!"

Lines 9-11. Change numbers of lines. Instead of 9,10,11 put 8,9. The words of line 10 (11 in the edition) belong to lines 8-9. (WD)

The word **وصلى** should be moved to the end of line 7. (WD)

At left bottom corner of the stone there are traces of a few words. They definitely do not form "two lines" as suggested by Diem. They are too defaced to enable deciphering.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 3

P.33. (Arabic text)

This inscription is so defaced that its reconstruction, as indicated in my reading, involves a lot of guesswork, based on similar inscriptions and literary sources. Epigraphers make an effort to overcome the technical problems as well as the damages of the text. Sometimes their eyes miss part of the text, therefore, the term "grave mistake" or "especially grave mistake," which Diem uses (1999:304) is not part of their lexicon. This is particularly true in the case of this inscription.

The main objection of Diem to my suggested reconstruction of the inscription is that the sultan concerned is Abū Saʿīd Jaqmaq whose name he read at the end of line 3 instead of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. I decided that the latter was the sultan mentioned in this inscription, not because I could read his name, as I clearly indicated, but because of the perfect preservation of the date 840 about which there cannot be any doubt. In this year Jaqmaq was not sultan, nor in the year after. He took office only in 842 (*Nujūm*, 15: 256). But since Diem is sure that I made a "grave mistake" in attributing the inscription to Barsbāy, who had still more than a year to live when the inscription was engraved, he tries to do the impossible. Admitting that the reading of the year 840 "is correct" (1999:340) and that the rule of Jaqmaq

“began in the year 842 AH,” he wishes to see “another number” between 2 and 9 added where there is no place to stick even a pinpoint. Realizing that this is impossible, Diem suggests something even stranger: “more probably” he writes “the sculptor forgot the number 2-9 at the beginning of the right margin of l. 6.”

Had such a remark been suggested not by a true scholar like Diem, I would not have taken the time to react to it. Epigraphers know that attributing a mistake so grave as a date in a monumental, imperial inscription as the one in question to “the sculptor” is almost impossible. Moreover, we avoid as much as we possibly can “blaming the sculptor” for our possible shortcomings. In this case therefore, *the date is 840, the sultan is Barsbāy*, and all the other parts of Diem’s note are as good a guesswork as mine.

Epigraphically, this inscription poses a problem only because of its bad condition. Its reading, as I noted, is far from being complete. Its importance is great because it is the first real evidence of the rebuilding of ‘Akko/‘Akkā already by the Mamlūks at the beginning of the 15th century and probably activating its port.

The reading of *Abū Sa’īd Jaqmaq* is not impossible, but one needs the whole inscription to figure in what capacity his name appears in the inscription. After all he reached the highest ranks, next to Barsbāy: chief chamberlain, and *atābik al-‘asākir* in the whole of Egypt. On his deathbed Barsbāy nominated him as the regent for his heir, the infant al-Malik al-‘Azīz Yūsuf, whose place he took a few months later (*Nujūm*, 15:261).

Until I succeed in finding a way to produce a better copy of the inscription, my initial, imperfect, reading remains valid. Therefore, the suggestion of replacing Barsbāy’s cartouche with one of Jaqmaq has no justification, and no trace.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 5

P.36 (Arabic Text)

L.4. Read: البقا and delete هو (a decoration was mistaken for this word) (WD)

L.5. Instead of وقل read: وقد (WD)

L.5. Instead of جل it is possible to read ها. In such a case the date will change from 1141/1728 to 1114/1702-3 with the word سنة added before the date. The line would then read:

... بالانوار ٥) شائع وقد اتى التاريخ
ها جامعي للخير جامع تحريراً سنة ١١١٤

“...spreading its abundant light; and the date is reached by: ‘This is my mosque which gathers virtues’. When calculated it is the year 1114” (=1702-3) (with WD).

‘Akko/‘Akkā 8

P.41 (Arabic text)

L.1. Vocalize: فَتَّى (WD)

L.3. Vocalize: الرَّحَمَات (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 9

P.43 (Arabic text)

L.3. Instead of بَعَا read: بَعَكَ (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 10

P.44-45 (Arabic text)

L.3. Read: لِيَفْعَلَهُ [م]ـكَانَا جَاءَ بِهِ إِلَى شَرِيعَةِ خَيْرِ الْخَلْقِ أَكْرَمَ مَرْسَلٍ (WD)

To make it a place that he brought to the holy law of the best of all creatures, the most honourable messenger (Muḥammad). (WD).

Diem’s contribution to the reading of this inscription, mutilated by the brush of an overzealous painter, is important, but not satisfying, especially the جاء به part. It is still open to improvements by the readers.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 11

P.46 (Arabic text)

L.2. There is a problem in reading one word in this line. Future readers may find the solution.

L.5. Instead of ١١٨٧ read ١١٧٨.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 12

P.51 (Arabic text)

L.1. Another version: vocalize ومَسْجِد (WD)

L.2. Instead of حَرِيصًا, possible reading: مَرَبِّضًا with the unusual meaning: “at his own cost.” (WD). The verb *rabbada* in this meaning is very rare, and I wonder if this is the correct reading, though it fits well into the contents of the inscription.

L.3. The text: بِذَلِكَ الدَّار which appears in the inscription instead of بَتَلِك الدَّار is not a “mistake of the sculptor” as Diem suggests but represents the nature of these inscriptions: on the one hand, usage of very rare words, and on the other a heavy influence of the colloquial language and sometimes hyper-

corrections.

L.4. Another translation of **فمن تعنيه**—“and whom do you mean?” (WD)

L.5. Vocalize: **هَزَبَر**. (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 13

Pp.52-53 (Arabic text)

Diem’s efforts (1999:309) to find a satisfactory solution to the puzzle of *jā’a* (CIAP 1:53) are not convincing, and the problem remains as is, awaiting a better solution by future readers.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 14

P.54. (Arabic text)

L.1. Instead of *al-mawqūfah*, read *al-mawqūf* (WD). (No need to change *al-mufakhkhar* to *al-mufakhkham* as Diem suggests).

L.1. Instead of **باشا** read **پاشا** (WD)

L.3. The little **هـ** which appears over the *tā’ marbūṭah* at the end of the inscription, is a decorative element. It is neither an abbreviation of the word *hijrah* nor the word *intahā*, as Diem speculated.

‘Akko/‘Akkā 15

P.55 (Arabic text)

Diem’s suggestion ... **ولي سبيل يحدثهم** “I have a fountain that will tell them” is an elegant reading, which can be considered next to mine but not replace it.

The suggested correction of **هدايت** to: **هديت** can also be accepted. (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 17

PP 56-57 (Arabic text)

L. 4. Instead of **باشا** read: **پاشا** (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 18

P.58 (Arabic text)

L. 1. Instead of **بحكم** read: **حکم** (WD)

Translate: “The renewal of building in ‘Akkāh was thoroughly consolidated” (for *uhkima*).

L.2. Instead of **فيه** read **منه** (not conclusive). (WD)

Instead of **قيام** read **تقام** .

‘Akko/‘Akkā 19

PP.60-61 (Arabic text)

L.1. Instead of بني read: بنا. (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 20

P.61 (Arabic text)

L.3..Instead of الرضا read: الرضى (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 21

PP. 61-64 (Arabic text)

L.7. Read 1253 (=1837-38) (WD)

The date corresponds to numerical value of the words رمس حكم بمحائق الفردوس
سكنى الابهر
(300+68+125+381+140+139=1253).

‘Akko/‘Akkā 23

P.65 (Arabic text)

L.2. Instead of ذا read: ذي (WD)

L.5. Instead of النور read: آل نور (WD)

L.6. The suggestion to read آل صديق instead of الصديق as I read it is possible, however, the fact that after الصديق (in my reading) comes the appellation رفيق المصطفى in clear reference to Abū Bakr *aṣ-Ṣiddīq*, I prefer to leave my reading as is, not rejecting, however, the possibility of *āl-Ṣiddīq* (WD).

L.8. The text here is clear: وقد اتى تاريخه ناطقاً

L.9. The first two letters are perfectly clear and not “completely destroyed” as Diem thought. The word is بهكذا as I read it.

L.9. Elegant corrected reading: بهكذا جزاء دام في الأعصر (WD).

“In such a thing [there is] a reward which lasts throughout the Ages.”

The date remains the same 1266(=1849).

‘Akko/‘Akkā 24

P.70 (Arabic text)

L.2. Instead of تحيرت read: فتحيرت (WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 25

PP.70-71 (Arabic text)

L.1. Instead of بنحو read: ينحو (to go to. WD)

‘Akko/‘Akkā 26

P.72 (Arabic text)

L.2. Instead of *تحضن* read: *تحصن* (you will be protected). Change translation accordingly: “so that you shall be protected in it in order that you shall rest eternally.” (WD, modified).

P.77. (Arabic text)

L. 3. Instead of *نابوليون بونايرت* read: *نابوليون بونايرت* (WD)

‘Amwās 2

P.84 (Arabic text)

L.3. Instead of *ابتغاء الله* read: *ابتغا لله* (WD)

‘Amwās 3

P.85 (Arabic text)

Add above line 1: *هو الحي الباقي* (WD)

L.6. The line’s reading remains unchanged, but I do not reject the possible variant of “*min al-ilāh rafīqihi*” (WD) next to my “*mannu al-ilāh rafīqihi*.”

‘Anātah 1

P.88 (Arabic text)

L. 1. Instead of *الرحمن* read: *الرحمان (!)* (WD)

L. 2. Instead of *شوال* read: *شول* (WD)

‘Aqabah 4

P.96

P.98, fig 45b. Correct slightly translation to lines 9-11. Read: “May Allah have mercy on whomsoever etc.” (WD).

‘Aqabah 5

P.100

This inscription from ‘Aqabah needs further editing pending on the acquirement of a good reproduction, which because of reasons beyond my ability to control, I have still not been able to secure.

‘Āqir 1

P.108 (Arabic text)

L.5. In addition to *السلحدار* (؟) read possibly also: *السلحدار*. (with WD).

Arsūf 1

P.115 (Arabic text)

L.6-8. The text of وهو يشهد is very common. For two examples, one for a man and one for a woman, see Houdas-Basset, *Épigraphie Tunisienne*.—Tirage à part du *Bulletin de Correspondence Africain*, IV, Alger 1882. Qairouan III from the year AH 341 and Qairouan V, from the year AH 423.

Artās 1

P.118 (Arabic text)

Change numbers of lines. After the word وبنائه in line 3 insert line 4, and after the word اطل insert line 5 and then line 6 followed by no text. (WD)

Artās 2

Pp.118-119 (Arabic text)

In examining again the squeeze the inscription reads:

(٢) ... في ايا [م مولانا السلطان ٣] ا[لملك الناصر المولو [ي الأ] مير [ي]

L.2. Correct (printing mistake) سلطان to سلطان . (WD)

Ashdod/Isdūd 1

Pp.126-127

The name Ashdod is the currently used modern (and Biblical) Hebrew name of the site, and Isdūd is its Arabic name as it appears in the Map of Palestine, 1:100 000 (Survey of Palestine 1942, 1943, 1944 reprinted May 1947 and September 1959). This is the standard map used for all place references in the *CIAP*. For all the variants of the names of Ashdod refer to my study introducing the inscriptions under this title (*CIAP* 1:124ff.)

Ll.1-2. Move the word مساجد to the end of line 1. (WD)

For reading and translation of line 8 cf. L.A. Mayer in *QDAP*, 3, 1934:24-25.

Note the spelling of البير representing the colloquial usage.

Ll.2-3. The word ‘*imārah*’ also means “building,” if there are enough reasons to think that the building is a new building. L.A. Mayer, who first published the text, translated “the building,” and I had no reason to correct his translation (Mayer, *ult. loc.cit.*).

Ashdod/Isdūd 2

P.128 (Arabic text)

L.7. Correct printing mistake: الإثنین read الاثنین . (WD)

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 1

P.144

L.5. Correct printing mistake حفظه read حفظه (WD)

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 2

P.148

L.9. The word كَفَوًا is written كَفَوْنَ—a mistake which represents the sound of the pronounced, rather than the written, Qur’ānic text. (Cf. ‘Anātah 1, CIAP, 1:88) (WD)

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 7

P.155f

L.6. My reading of the واربعمئة is intentional. I am not sure of the reading in two words مائة واربع.

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 8

Pp.156-157 (Arabic text)

L.6. Instead of دماثرهم read ضمائرهم . (with WD).

L.8. I stand behind my reading of وكریم مقامه . وخصه باجلاله وكریم . My reading of كَرِيم is sure. The previous reading was تَكْرِيم .

In 1.8 I read ويناه من اسه الى علوه . Diem’s suggestion: “Instead of إسه (‘issihī) vocalize أسه (‘ussihī)” (1999:329) must be rejected because he could have found in any dictionary that the three vocalizations are possible: الأس والإس الأَسْ أصل البناء (Munjid)

L.10. Correct printing mistake تعالی read تعال (WD)

L.12. Correct vowelling: تعظیمه وتشريفه والنظر... وعمارة... وتطهيره (WD)

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 11

P.162 (Arabic text)

B.1.8. Add before من: يوم (with WD)

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 13

Pp.165-166 (Arabic text)

L.11. Instead of القائد read [الم]—أُيد (WD)

L.12. Instead of تام read تاج (WD)

Ll.12-13. Possible variant to عبدة — نجدة (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* 6:59, 144-145) (with WD)

Ll. 18-19. A long note only to offer a variant: instead of **فخر العمل** read **فخر العباد**.

Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 16

P.187 (Arabic text)

L. 1. Ignore what Diem remarks (1999:331): “The missing **من** is, as far as I see, not effaced but was forgotten by the sculptor.” I have already noted above that epigraphers are very careful in attributing such mistakes to “sculptors.”

Ll.6-7. Even more surprising is Diem’s remark concerning the text of these lines beginning with **وان اوقاف المسجد المذكورة**. It is clear that *al-madhkūrah* refers to *awqāf* and this is how I translated the text. Ignore Diem’s “second possibility” concerning the readings of the text: “It is assumed (*sic!*) that *al-madhkūrah* is an error and stands for *al-madhkūr*... In my opinion the second possibility (namely a mistake by the sculptor MS) is more plausible. Because it is the style used in endowment deeds.” This inscription like any other inscription represents a text which must be respected even if it is unique, which it is not.

Avdat/‘Abdah 1

P.192

I fully stand behind my reading and commentary.

Unidentified inscription 1

P.195 (Arabic text)

Ignore Diem’s note. Let us not forget, that this inscription is faintly incised and that many lines representing haphazard scratches damaged it through the ages. Reading it involved a tremendous effort, but one thing is clear: there are no “sculptor’s mistakes” in it (to l.3, 1999:332); and again in the same line: “perhaps the sculptor erroneously added the letter to...” It does not work like this. I am sure that this inscription, being particularly difficult, needs more attention, not with the aim of proving me wrong, but by using my reading as a sound basis for more study. Until such time my original reading and translation remain as they are.

This is true for Diem’s attempt to correct my reading of lines 5 and 6.

As to lines 8 to 11 I wish to quote Diem with no comment:

“Apparently the sculptor had forgotten it (the word **سنة** MS) in line 8, and added it after he finished the date.” (1999:333)

ADDENDA AND ERRATA TO *CIAP* II

ADDENDA

TO BAYT JIBRĪN (BAYT JUBRĪN)

Construction of an inn by Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā

During the excavations directed since 1995 at Bayt Jibrīn by Amos Kloner and Michael Cohen, a fragment of an inscription was found which is, as far as I know, the only evidence of building activity by the Ayyūbids in the place after its conquest by Saladin. The sultan, fearing the possibility of the Crusaders recapturing their former strategic positions near the coast, “destroyed the mighty castle that was in it,” (Yāqūt *s.v.* Bayt Jibrīn) but the town and its environs remained in Ayyūbid hands for more than 50 years. The discovery of this inscription necessitates additions and corrections to the general outline of the history of Bayt Jibrīn in *CIAP* 2.

During the Third Crusade, early in June 1192, the Crusader army led by Richard I, passed through Bayt Jibrīn on its (abortive) campaign to capture Jerusalem. However, in the Treaty of Jaffa between Saladin and the English king, the former was adamant to keep in Muslim hands as much as possible the southern parts of the country. The Crusader Kingdom, which emerged from this agreement, was a narrow strip along the coastal plain which reached in the south to just below Jaffa. The whole hinterland remained in Muslim hands, and Bayt Jibrīn, well outside the Crusaders region, resumed its strategic position on the main route between the Muslim territories in central Palestine, particularly Jerusalem and Hebron, and Egypt. (Prawer, 1984, 2: 86-87, 92) This situation did not change until 1229, when due to tensions and internal fighting common in the Ayyūbid family, Bayt Jibrīn became part of the domains of the Ayyūbid an-Nāṣir Dāwud of Shawbak (which he later lost to the Egyptian Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil). These events came in the wake of the agreement of al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt with Emperor Frederick II, earlier in the same year, which extended the Crusaders domains to Jerusalem but still left all the territory below the line of Ashqelon—Bethlehem, which included Bayt Jibrīn, in Muslim hands. (*Ibid.*, 2:244-246). Only in spring 1241, as a result of very successful diplomatic activities carried out during the Crusade of Richard the Earl of Cornwall (*CIAP*, 1:140) did the Crusader

Kingdom receive considerable territories in Palestine which brought it again to the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee in the north, and extended its control to Ashqelon and Bayt Jibrīn in the south. The main route from the coast to Jerusalem was once again in Christian hands, which however, they lost 3 years later to the Egyptians. (Map in Riley-Smith, 1991:98-99)

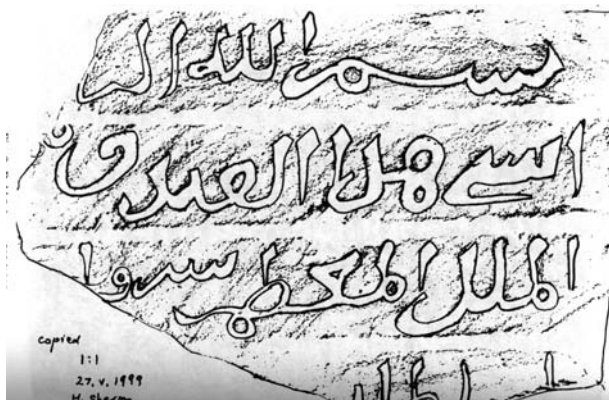
Since 1187 Bayt Jibrīn remained in Muslim hands with only this short interruption, and during this period it continued to serve its purpose as a main station on the route between Egypt, Gaza, Jerusalem, and the northern domains of the Ayyūbids. There are no clear reports regarding the rebuilding of the town's castle that had been demolished by Saladin, following its capture after the battle of Hittīn. This inscription is clear evidence to the importance that Saladin's immediate heirs accorded to the route via Bayt Jibrīn. It is hard to imagine that a fort did not defend such a strategic position. But even if the fortress of Bayt Jibrīn was reconstructed or repaired after Saladin, it would have hardly escaped the fate of all the major castles in the country (including Jerusalem) which al-Mu'azzam ʿĪsā demolished after the fall of Damietta to the Fifth Crusade in 1218. (Sharon, 1977:187)

8a

Construction text

604/1208-624/1227

A slab of yellowish marble 0.31x0.22m. (max.), broken on the left hand side and at the bottom. 4 lines, provincial fine Ayyūbid *naskhī*, incised, no visible points and no vowels, IAA registration no. 96-3529 (L. 5053 B. 153170). Publication: Sharon, *JSOI* 24, 2000: 511-518 (Pl. 1)



Pl. 1. Bayt Jibrīn (Jubrīn) 604-624/1208-1227

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [٢] أَنْشَى هَذَا الْفُنْدُقَ فـ [بِـ أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ] (٣) الْمَلِكِ
 الْمَعْظَمِ شَرَفِ [الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينَ عَيْسَى] (٤) [ابن <السُّلْطَانِ> (٥) الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ سَيْفِ الدُّنْيَا
 وَالِدِينَ (٥) أَبِي بَكْرٍ بْنِ أَيُّوبٍ فِي سَنَةِ (٥) ...]

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. This inn was established in the time of our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn ‘Īsā the son of] the sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb in the year (?)

The reconstruction of this inscription is based on the many examples from the time of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā especially on an inscription from the year 612/1215 found on Mount Tabor. (Van Berchem, *ZDPV*, *MuN*, 1903:42-44 = *Opera Minora*, 1:320-322. *RCEA*, 10:106, No. 3753)

The exact place of this inn could not be verified, but it could well have been built within the area of the demolished Crusaders fortress. According to the information supplied to me by Micha Cohen, the archeologist who excavated the Crusader fortress of Bayt Jibrīn, the fortress had an external wall and towers, which encircled an inner castle or keep. There are clear signs that the exterior wall and the towers were dismantled, but there is no evidence that the keep was ever intentionally demolished. It is reasonable that the inn was built in proximity to the keep in the general area of the outwork, probably after the defeat of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt between 1220 and 1227, the date of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā’s death.

In my reconstruction of some of the missing parts of the inscription I estimated each line to consist of about 30 to 32 characters (similar to the number of characters in the Mt. Tabor inscription that displays the same type of script). However, it is possible that the lines were shorter, if the first line contained, as it seems, no more than the *basmalah* that was spread over the whole line. In such a case the honorific titles should be reduced to the minimum, which is not unusual.

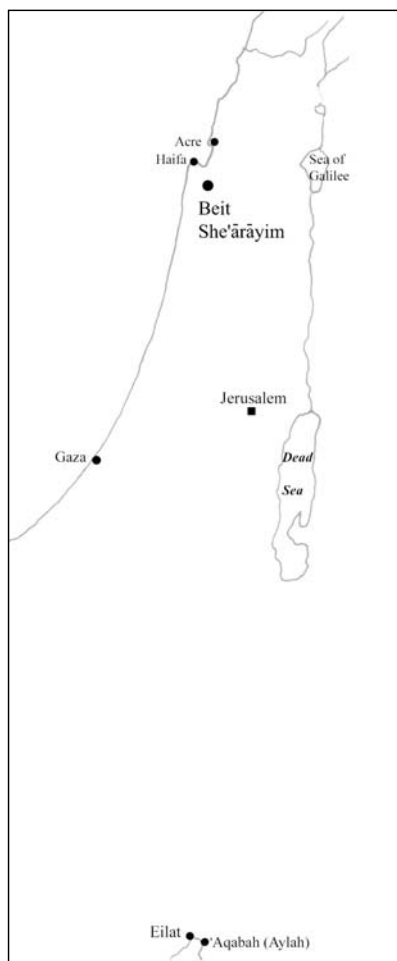
L.2: The beginning of the letter *fā’* is clear. There is no doubt about the reconstruction of the word *fī*.

L.3: In shorter lines the word *ad-dunyā* in the reconstruction is optional.

L.4: The line is fully reconstructed on the basis of a few traces of letters at the break line of the stone. The word *ad-dunyā* here too is optional.

BETH SHE'ARĀYIM (BETH SHE'ARĪM) (Shaykh Burayk)

Is. Gr. 162 234 (N. Is. Gr. 212 734)



Called *mistakenly* in all the historical and archaeological literature Beth She'arīm (House of Gates). The reading was corrected by Kutcher who proved beyond doubt the dual form of the name: House (or Village) of Two Gates—בֵּית שְׁעָרַיִם, כְּפָר שְׁעָרַיִם—and showed that its various spellings:—בֵּית שְׁרִיין, בֵּית שִׁירִיין,—בֵּית שְׁרִי, בֵּית שְׁרִי—in Talmudic, and other rabbinical literature, lead to this conclusion, not only in the case of this place-name, but in all names with the same suffix. (Kutcher, 1977: 194, 196 and abundant references there; BT, *Nidah* 27a; Press 1, 1951:105-106 with extensive bibliography; Jastrow, 2:1613a and 1631a, where the geographical identification (before the excavations) is wrong. The dual form of the name is the accepted Yemenite pronunciation, as I learnt from Dr. Yechiel Kara of the Israel Academy of the Hebrew Language).

An ancient town in Southern Galilee; first mentioned by Josephus in his autobiography (Βίος) by the name of Besara (Βησάρα), appears also in a Greek inscription. In the 2nd century it was the centre of Jewish leadership and scholarship. Here, was the seat of the Sanhedrin for a long period and here lived and was buried R.

Yehudah Ha-Nasi (“the prince”), the compiler of the Mishnah, and his two sons, R. Simon and R. Gamaliel. (the town was destroyed sometime in the 6th century)

The ancient Beth She'arāyim was built on a hill known by the Arabic name of Shaykh Burayk or better, in its local pronunciation, as I personally know it having grown up in this area, Sheikh (I)breik (or Abreik). The identification

of Sheikh Ibreik with Beth She'arāyim was established when the excavations in the place began in 1936 by Benjamin Mazar, who discovered a Greek epigramme with the Greek name of the place. He called it however Beth She'arīm, and since then this name remained the official name of the site to this day. J. Schwartz suggested that the name Abreik is reminiscent of Barak son of Abinoam who led the main battle against Sisera at Haroshet Haggoyim near the Kishon river in the plain below the present site. (Judges, 4-5; Schwartz, 1900:203)

The 10 periods of excavations which extended until 1959 uncovered the town and a huge necropolis, that probably was the largest in the country being also a favourite burial place. The excavations also yielded a large number of inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, Palmyrene and Greek, as well as one Arabic inscription. The catacombs of Beth She'arāyim were all dug into the rock at the slope of the mountain, where the city stood; many are beautifully decorated, and represent some of the finest examples of Hellenistic architecture; 14 of them have a triple arch facade. (Hoade, 1984:681)

Shaykh Abreik (Ibreik) was in the 19th century a small village that was built on the hill hiding the ancient town and cemetery. When Guérin visited the place he saw the remnants of the buildings of the ancient town scattered throughout the village as well as a few burial caves. The village, built of mud houses, was called after a Muslim saint, whose tomb is in a small building with two domes, which is still a site of *ziyārah*. (Guérin, *Galilée*, 1, 1880, ch.34; *SWP*, 1, *Galilee*, 1881:273) The surveyors of the *SWP*, who carried out an extensive research of the site, understood its importance. "The hill beneath the village is full of caves," two of which "*Maghārat aṣ-Ṣiḥ*" (or *as-Ṣiḥ*) (*SWP*, index, Arabic and English Name Lists, 1881:114) and "*Maghārat al-Jahannam*" (*SWP*, 1, *Galilee* 1881:325—"Mūghāret el-Jehennum") as well as other tomb caves were described. Although the *SWP* researchers working in the site late in 1872, were unable to identify the ancient town, they reached the conclusion, which was verified 66 years later in the extensive excavations. *SWP*, 1, *Galilee* 1881:345-351) "There is every reason to consider these ruins as belonging to the later Jewish times, about the Christian era." (*SWP*, vol. cit. 351; *NEAEHL*, 1, 1992:231-245).

Maghārat al-Jahannam (the Cave of Hell), which is a huge complex of tombs and underground passages, to which access was possible at the end of the 19th century, was completely exposed in earlier times, and from the Arabic inscription, it is clear that it was used for burial in the 9th-10th centuries, and probably later.

Sheikh Ibreik, the local saint, was believed to be the source of healing

power from rheumatism and nervous pains that he has bestowed upon al-Maṭba'ah, a certain swamp in the Plain of Esdraelon, located not far from his *maqām*. "After a barren woman has taken a bath in el-Maṭba'ah she washes herself in 'Ein Ishāq; she goes then to esh-shēkh Ibreek to offer a present." (Canaan, 1927:111). The spring called 'Ein Ishāq is one of the few copious springs near Sheikh Ibreek that had sustained the ancient town and modern settlements.

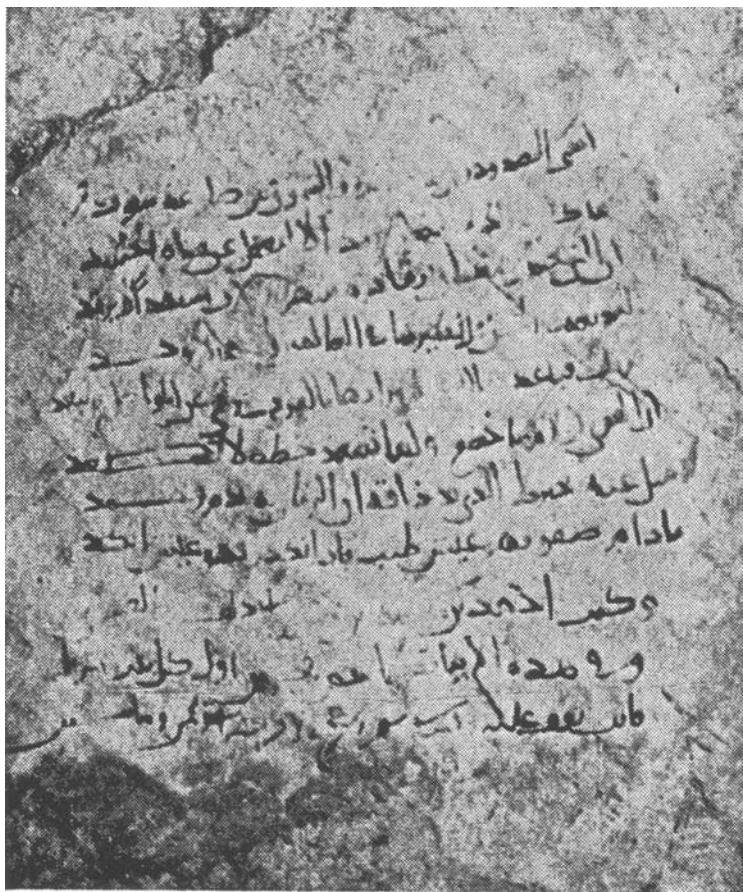
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Elegy

Rabī 1, 287/5 Apr.–3 May 900

The inscription (0.18x0.205m. max.), written in black ink on the wall of Maghārat al-Jahannam was discovered in 1956 during the final stages of the excavations directed by B. Mazar. (Pl. 1a) 11 lines, each 18cm. long except for the last one, which is the longest, (20,5 cm.). The script represents typical papyri script of the 9-10th centuries; many diacritical points and vowels. In some places the writing is covered with white encrustation, in others the stone was chopped away with a few letters. The inscription is a poem ending with three lines of information about the writer and the date. Publication: Ben Horin 1957:165-168 and pl. 8(2), who saw the inscription *in situ*. The following publication therefore follows his reading with only a few corrections. The poem is in perfect *kāmil* meter, and sometimes the obvious reading of certain words had to be changed to conform to it.

- | | |
|--|---|
| وَالشَّوْقُ بَيْنَ ضُلُوعِهِ يَتَوَقَّدُ | (١) أَنْعِي الصَّدُودَ وَ [د] |
| إِلَّا لِيَغْفُلَ عَنْ هَوَاهُ الْحَسَدُ | (٢) مَا كَا [نَ فِيهِ] الْكَرْمُ يُنْظَرُ [أَزْ] يَدُ |
| سَهْرَ [أَوْصَا] رَ مَشْهَدًا بِهِ يُرْقَدُ | (٣) إِنَّ الْمُنَى جَعَلَتْ مَكَانَ رُقَادِهِ |
| فِي الْعَالَمِينَ وَمَا [ثُلْ] هَا لَا يُوجَدُ | (٤) اِلْتَذَّ نَعَمَ الْحُسْنِ هَلْ لِنَظِيرِهَا |
| بِالْقُرْبِ وَهِيَ عَنِ الْمَوَاصِلِ تُبْعَدُ | (٥) قُرْبَتْ فَبَاعَدَتْ الدُّهُوَ [رُ مَ] رَادُّهَا |
| وَلَمَّا تَصَعَّدَ حَظُّهُ لَا يَصْعَدُ | (٦) إِنَّ الْهَوَى لَوْ لَامَ فَمَا خَضَعَ |
| إِنَّ الزَّمَانَ بِهِ يُذَمُّ وَيُحْمَدُ | (٧) سَلْ عَنْهُ يُخْبِرُكَ (!) الَّذِي قَدْ ذَاقَهُ |
| فَإِذَا انْكَدَرَ فَهُوَ عَيْشٌ أَنْكَدُ | (٨) مَا دَامَ صَفْوُ فَهُوَ عَيْشٌ طَيِّبٌ |
| | (٩) وَكُتِبَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنُ بَشَرَ بْنِ أَبِي دَلْفِ الْعَبْدِي |
| | (١٠) وَفِي هَذِهِ الْأَبْيَاتِ اسْمٌ قُحْذُ مِنْ أَوَّلِ كُلِّ بَيْتٍ خَرَفًا |
| | (١١) فَانْتَ تَقِفُ عَلَيْهِ وَكُتِبَ فِي شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَثَمْنِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ |



Pl. 1a. Beth She'arāyim 287/900

In order to express the poetic side of the text, I allowed myself some freedom in the following translation of the poem.

I lament the defender (who passed away)
 While desire within his breast is still afire.
 His generosity was not very manifest to the eye,
 So that the envious ones neglect desiring him.
 Yearning (for him) has made his resting place
 (a site of) wakefulness and a shrine where people stay.
 The blessings of beauty he enjoyed. Can any thing equal them
 in the worlds? Nothing to match them can be found.
 Closer come the Ages, but distance they cause;
 for nearness they aspire, but the friends they keep afar.
 Were Desire to cause blame (to a person), (still) it could not subdue (him);
 And if man's fortune does not ascend, he (too will) not rise.
 Ask about it, and the experienced ones will tell thee

That Time combines both blame and praise:
As long as limpid it remains, life is happy, blissful

But once it turbid turns, miserable is life and painful

And wrote Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Abū Dulaf al-ʿAbdī, and in these verses is a name. Take from the beginning of each verse one letter and you should comprehend it. And it was written in the month of Rabiʿ II the year 287 (or 289).

L.1: Ben Horin: **الصُّدُودَ** The beginning of the line is clear. The noun *ṣudūd* is extensively used in Arabic poetry to describe separation and turning away, usually of the beloved. It goes frequently with various verbs and nouns derived from the stem *h-j-r* that are used to describe the departure of the tribe together with the girl desired by the poet. This is, as it is well known, the main theme the *nasīb* which introduces the Arabic *qaṣīdah* (*EI s.v.*). However, the word *ṣudūd* is used in the general meaning of separation and as the antonym of *wiṣāl*, reunion and being together (of lovers). Thus we find the poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā lamenting the death of his beloved son (in reaction to his wife's attempt to console him by saying that he was not the only one to lose a dear soul):

وَصَالًا عَلَى طُولِ الصُّدُودِ يَدُومُ

صَدَدْتُ وَأَطَوَّلْتُ الصُّدُودَ وَلَا أَرَى

She is gone, and long indeed is her departure; and I cannot see

How can it be that union may endure such long departure. (*Aghānī*, 9:158)

In our inscription the word describes the parting with the beloved person who died. I therefore chose *ṣadūd* (defender, obstructor) that describes him instead of the abstract *ṣudūd*. The poetess, Umm al-Qāsim, whose agnomen we know from the first letter at the beginning of every verse in the poem, following the instructions in lines 10 and 11, laments his departure while the fire of desire was still burning in him (*bayna ḡulūʾihī*). Unfortunately from the first hemistich only two words are readable, and at least two words are too defaced to be reconstructed. The last word finishes with the letter *dāl* which means that the first line is also the first verse of the poem that should begin according to the rules of prosody with *taṣnʿ*, that is to say the rhyming of the first hemistich with the second one. Ben Horin could see the traces of a word, which looks like **الجيد** which I can not see any more.

L.2: Ben Horin: **الكَرْمُ**. Instead, I suggest **الكَرْمُ** for **الكَرْمُ** to fit the meter. In spite of the bad condition of the first hemistich, the reconstruction of this line seems very possible and fits the meter as well as the contents. The word *ḥussadu* is vowelized with a *ḍammah* in the original. The idea behind this verse

is clear: in order to avert the evil eyes of those who were jealous of him his abundant generosity was not flaunted around too openly.

L.3: Ben Horin: فِيهِ يُرْقَدُ. This reading is problematic as far as both meter and contents are concerned. I suggest: بِهِ يُرْقَدُ that fits the meter and the apparent meaning of the verse, which speaks about the admirers who come to the tomb of the hero that has become a place of assembly, a shrine where the visitors stay awake at night and lie down, apparently to sleep (*bihi yurqadu*). Such a practice is not unusual, for many tombs all over the country acquired for some reason the status of a sanctuary, *mashhad* or *maqām*, a holy place, where people assembled and spent the night to enjoy its blessing—*barakah*. (Canaan 1927:99f) It is possible that this poem marks the beginning of the present *maqām* of Sheikh Abreik. The burial place of the hero of our poem is described as a *mashhad*; a word which has the general meaning of a place of assembly, but more specifically a shrine. The description of vigil people spending the night in the place strengthens this idea. The cave of *Jahannam*, where the inscription was written, is part of a vast area of ancient ruins and catacombs the most natural place for a growth of a local shrine. Regarding this kind of shrine Tewfik Canaan wrote:

Another fact not without interest is that great number of sacred sites lie in or near a ruin. It is not to be expected that one will always find remains of a large ruin; there may be only a few old rock-hewn tombs, remains of a few houses, several old cisterns, or some ancient pillars. Such a ruin ... existed long before the present shrine. A ruin, an artificial cave, a solitary tree, or some old cisterns in a lonely deserted spot would stimulate the imagination ... About 32% of the sanctuaries which I visited were in the vicinity of some ruin. (Canaan 1927:9-10. See also *ibid.*, 42f, 56f)

From the damaged word in the second hemistich of this verse only remnants of the *alif* and the full letter *nā'* are visible; the word *šāra* seems to be the natural reconstruction. The word *mashhadan* (with *tanwīn*) is vocalized in the original.

L.4: Ben Horin: هَلْ نَظِيرُهَا. In spite of the bad condition of the first hemistich the traces of the suggested reading are quite clear. I read the last two words *hal lināẓirihā*. The *lām* before the word *naẓīruha* cannot be missed, beside the fact that it is needed to fit the meter; it is very likely that it was inserted for this very reason. The combined words *nīma' l-ḥusni* is for *nīama* (plural of *nīmah*)' *l-ḥusni*; the second vowel of *nīam* was shortened to fit the meter. It is possible, however, to read the word in the singular with a slight change of vowels and meaning: *nu'm* (pl. *an'ām*)—prosperity, happiness. I prefer the first reading; it is more elegant and fits better into the meaning conveyed by the verse.

The verse says that during his life, the deceased enjoyed everything which can be defined as the “blessings of beauty,” so wonderful were these good things that nothing like them can be found in the world. However nothing remains, and good things cannot endure the verdict of time.

L.5: The word *ad-duhūr* is very damaged but Ben Horin enjoyed better conditions to verify the line, and from what remained from the line his reconstruction seems sure. He read the whole verse as follows:

قَرَبْتُ فَبَاعَدَتِ الدُّهُورُ [رُ مُ]—رَادُهَا بِالْقُرْبِ وَهِيَ عَنِ الْمَوَاصِلِ تَبْعُدُ

Closer come the Ages, but distance they cause;
for nearness they aspire yet union they keep afar.

The word *al-mawāṣil* is clear and it denotes here union or reunion. It seems to be a synonym of *wiṣāl*, and *waṣl* (pl. *awṣāl*) that have the same meaning, and are widely used in poetry. *Mawāṣil* is used in the standard dictionaries to denote joining, and attachment, in the physical sense like the joints of the bones in the human chest. (*mawāṣil al-‘izām fi aṣ-ṣadr*. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, 1:42a) Having said that, I think that the word in line 5 is *muwāṣil* namely a friend, a close companion. In a famous poem, being his ethical will to his son, the Jāhilī poet ‘Abd al-Qays b. Khufāf al-Burjumī said in one of the verses:

وَصِلِ الْمَوَاصِلَ مَا صَفَا لَكَ وَدُّهُ وَاجْزُذْ حَبَالَ الْخَائِنِ الْمُتَبَدِّلِ

Attach thyself to the friend as long as his friendship to thee is pure
And cut the ropes of (of contact with) the shameless deceiver

However even if we were to read the word *muwāṣil*, which fits very well into the verse, there is not much change in the meaning. The other change is from *tab‘udu* of Ben Horin to *tub‘idu*, which fits more to the contents. The different vocalizing which I chose, gives the second hemistich a better sense, and more solidity to the whole verse:

قَرَبْتُ فَبَاعَدَتِ الدُّهُورُ مُرَادُهَا بِالْقُرْبِ وَهِيَ عَنِ الْمَوَاصِلِ تُبْعِدُ

Closer are the Ages, and (yet) distance they cause;
they seek nearness, while separating friend from friend.

The poetess moves to describe the vicissitudes of time, which may seem to perpetuate proximity and togetherness, but end by causing separation. (For at the end one of the loved ones has to die, depart from this world, and break the union).

L.6: The meter influences the reading of this line. But even so it is not perfect, and although the letters look clear there are problems in the reading and understanding this line. Thus the verb *khadda* must be in the second form, and the word *lamā* in the second hemistich of this line cannot be *lammā* although it seems more appropriate, and this is how Ben Horin translated it into Hebrew (although he did not read it so). I offer here therefore, a translation about which I am not very sure. As it stands the verse speaks about desire, love, or deep affection that cannot subdue the person completely even if it reproaches him. I believe that the meaning of the verse is: The desire even if it sometimes causes blame and reproach to somebody, is unable to change the course of his life by subduing him. It is man's fortune that counts: if one's luck is not on the rise one does not ascend. The last hemistich brings us back from the topic of desire, luck and fortune to the subject of time.

L.7: سَلْ عَنْهُ يُخْبِرُكَ note the vowels in the verb *yukhbiruka* where one expects the jussive *yukhbirka*, as it should be in conditional sentences (*jawāb al-amr*). This vocalizing fits the meter. It is necessary therefore to put a period after *sal* 'anhu. The verb *yukhbiruka* is thus "freed" from subordination to the imperative *sal* (ask), and begins a new sentence.

Everybody feels the effect of Time's alternations, some more than others. The poetess now turns to an invisible listener asking him to enquire from somebody who had his share of trial with the fluctuations of time. This person will surely inform him that time has two sides: one for which it can be reproached and one for which it can be praised. The idea is developed in the closing verse:

L.8: As long as it (time) is clear without any obscure corners it amounts to "good life," but if for some reason it turns to be murky and "cloudy," it is a distressful life.

The whole poem is an elegy, but it is a sophisticated one: the direct reference to the deceased is in the first 4 verses; the last four were written in a "philosophical mood" talking in general about the meaning of human life, the framework of time, and the human desire.

Ll.9-11: These lines contain detailed information about the poem and its author. Very possibly the poetess who composed this poem could not write, and probably was not even in the place. Like many other women she was an expert on elegies she composed on demand and somebody by the name of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Abū Dulaf of the clan of 'Abd al-Qays from the tribal confederation of Rabī'ah b. Nizār (Sam'ānī, 4, 1988:135) wrote it down on the catacomb wall.

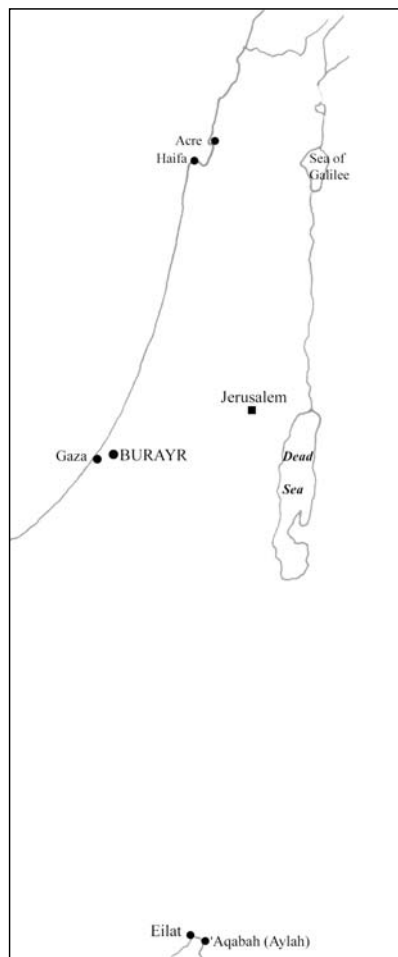
The acrostic—that is to say the name that is reached by joining the first letters in the beginning of all the verses, is Umm al-Qāsim. Notice that line 4 which starts with an *alif*, seems to break the acrostic, but in the case of the prefix “*al-*” it is not the *alif* that counts in this particular case, but the *lām*. I could not find anything in the literature about Umm al-Qāsim who, judging by this poem, was a fine poetess. The language of the poem is no doubt particularly beautiful, although the ideas are more or less standard in the poetry of the time. Still this is a rare example of ancient Arabic poetry preserved outside the manuscripts. There is only one other poem dealing also with the subject of time, old age, and death, which I published in *CIAP*, 1: 195, under the title of ‘unidentified inscription.’ It was composed more than 40 years after this one, and it consists of only two verses.

The date Rabīʿ II, 287 can also be Rabīʿ II, 289 (=15 March–12 April 902), since even in clear inscriptions it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the words *sabʿ* and *tisʿ*.

This inscription joins a few groups of inscriptions, which were written with ink on walls or on bones, shards and pieces of marble. When Ben-Horin published this inscription he wrote: “Ancient Arabic inscriptions written in ink on stone are very rare. Most of the preserved inscriptions of this type were written on broken pieces of marble. Only two inscriptions of this sort were found until now in Palestine: one in Khirbat al-Mafjar (near Jericho); it is a letter to the Umayyad caliph Hishām from the beginning of the 8th century (D.C. Baramki, *QDAP*, 8, 1938:53 pl. XXXIV, 2), and the other from Tlūl Abū al-ʿAlāʾiq, (see below *s.v.* “Dayr al-Qalt.” MS) which is a copy of a few *Sūrah*s of the Qurʾān, probably from the 9th century (A. Jeffery, *AASOR*, 29–30, 1955: 4, 53–55, pls. 21–21a).” Since 1955, more inscriptions, written with ink, were discovered in Khirbat Sūsiyah in the southern Hebron Mountains, and in Nessana (ʿAwjāʾ al-Ḥafīr), as well as in ʿEin ʿEbrona to the south of Yoṭbetah (ʿEin Ghadyān), and on shards from other excavations. None of these finds, however, is as extensive and as complete as this poem.

BURAYR

Is. Gr. 116108 (N. Is. Gr. 166 608)



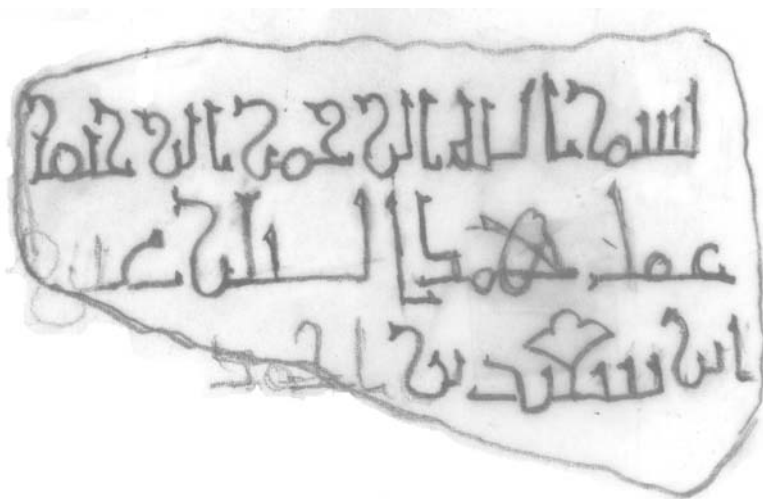
Ruins of a village 18km. to the northeast of Gaza (as the crow flies). The Arab name *Burayr* preserved the ancient Hebrew name *Beror Hāyil* mentioned in the Mishnaic sources, which testify to the existence of an established town in the place in the 1st century, and probably even earlier. (Tosephtā, *Má asroth*, 2:2; BT, *Sanhedrīn*, 32b; Avi-Yonah 1963:116-117) In Greek it was called *Burirōn* (Βουριρόν) hence the Arabic name Burayr (colloq. *Bureir* and *Ibreir*). The pottery find confirms uninterrupted settlement from the Second Temple and Roman periods down to modern times. (IAA report 11-10/68-2)

Nothing is mentioned about the place in the Arabic sources, although the village must have been important, because of its position on the main highway leading from Gaza to Bayt Jibrīn. (*CIAP*, 2:109ff.) Branching off the Sea Route (*Via Maris*) at Bayt Ḥanūn (*q.v.*), this route connected Jerusalem and its environs with the coastal plain, and Egypt, as well as with the urban centers along the coast of the eastern Mediterranean. Burayr had its own independent natural source of water, and this made it

a desired halting place for travelers, after which they could stay overnight in the Khān of Umm Lāqis (Mulāqis), a few miles up the highway. (Is. Gr. 120 109) But this Khān was established there only around the year 1317. (*Atlas of Israel*, Sheet IX/11; *CIAP*, 2:116-117) The fragment of the inscription from the second half of the 9th/15th century which was found in the ruins of the village, commemorates the digging or comprehensive repair of the village well—its major source of drinking water. A similar inscription though from an earlier period (5th/11th century) also commemorating the construction

of a well was found in Khirbat Jammāmah (*q.v.* today, Ruḥāmah Is. Gr. 120 101) a few miles to the southeast of Burayr.

The 3 lines inscription from Jammāmah was incised on a slab of yellowish granite 0.20x0.30m. The letters represent highly stylized Fāṭimid script, and it is clear that it belonged to a man of wealth and influence (Pl. 2). It reads (with some reconstructions) as follows:



Pl. 2. Jammamah—construction of a well (copied *in situ*)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) عمل هذا البئر عـ [يسى] (٣) ابن سعيد بن أحمـد ؟

Basmalah. Has made this well ʿĪsā b. Saʿīd b. (Aḥmad?)...

The investment in the development of natural sources of water by officials, and local notables and rich men does not necessarily prove the existence of settlement in the place but it definitely points to the strategic importance of such a place. However in the case of Burayr both these provisions were present. Its strategic importance was demonstrated in World War I during the British offensive against the Turks after the capture of Gaza on the 7th of November 1917. Burayr was one of the first places to be taken (9th November) thus consolidating the British hold on the strategic positions controlling the approaches to Jerusalem and Jaffa. (Smith, 1968 (1966): 197)

Both Guérin and the *Survey* refer particularly to the village well that supplied plenty of water in their days namely, in the second half of the 19th century. Guérin reached Burayr on 11th June 1863, and like many other travelers before him he chose the place for camping overnight. He describes

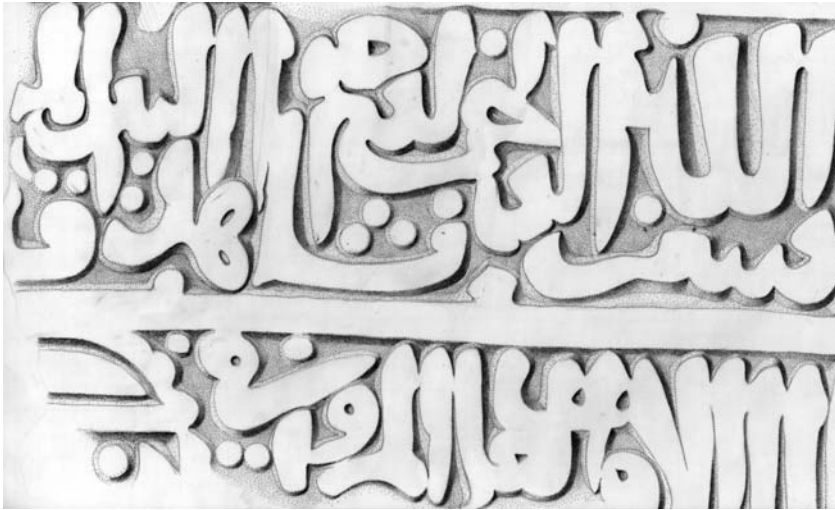
it as “a large and prosperous village of about 1000 inhabitants. All houses, however, are mud houses except for the stone house of the Sheikh. Around the wide and deep well, ten ancient shafts in grayish white marble are built up in masonry serving to make a trough.” (Guérin, *Judée* 2:293, quoted also in *SWP*, 3:274) Similarly the *Survey* describes Burayr as “a large mud village on flat ground with a well with a Sakia, or water-wheel, to the east, and a pool to the north, to the south is a garden.” (*SWP*, 3:259)

1

Construction Text

Second half 9th/15th century

The top right corner fragment of a large slab of marble 0.40x0.28x0.08m. discovered in the ruins of the village about 0.70m. below the surface, by IAA archeologist Jacob Huster on 25th June 2001. Remnants of 2 lines divided by a narrow band. Monumental late Mamlūk *naskhī*; thick, interwoven, artistically engraved characters in relief; full points, no vowels. Part of heraldry shield on the break-line of the stone on the left that originally occupied the middle of the inscription. (Fig. Add. 2. Pl. 2a)

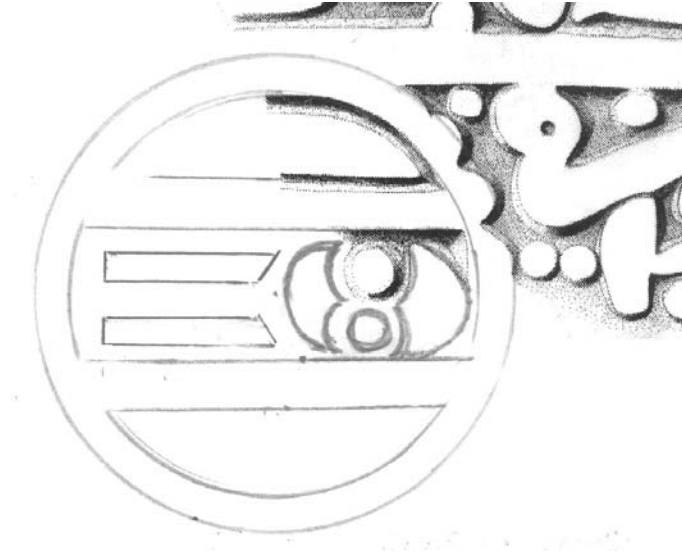


Pl. 2a. Burayr—establishment of a well (courtesy IAA)

١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أنشأ هذا البئر المبارك [أرك... words 8-7]
 ٢)(words 8-7).

Basmalah. Has constructed this blessed well ...

The remnants of the heraldic shield in the middle of the inscription almost surely represent a blazon consisting of a pen-box in the middle field of the disc. Pen-box charge came in various shapes but it always consisted of one inkpot, a sand pot and starch paste-pot as well as “two or three receptacles for reeds,” and “a receptacle for thread” (to clean the pens). (Mayer, *Heraldry*, 1933:12)



Pl. 2b. Suggested reconstruction of blazon

This blazon belonged to *dawādārs*, the secretaries at the court. (*ibid.*, 5) The remnants of this blazon look like part of the inkpot and one of the two other pots. My reconstruction of the blazon (Pl. 2b) follows a few examples listed by Mayer as “pen box on the middle of three fielded shield.” Such pen boxes belonged to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muzhir who died in 893/1488 (*ibid.*, 46); to Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad (*ibid.*, 47); to Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd ar-Razzāq who died in 808/1406 (*ibid.*, 122); to Jurjī an-Nāṣirī who died in 772/1370 (*ibid.*, 134); to Sīdī Muḥammad an-Nāṣirī (*ibid.*, 157); to Qānibāy al-Jarkasī who died in 866/1462 (*ibid.*, 177); to Qānṣūh al-Yaḥyāwī who died in 902/1497. His name is connected with a project of renewing the water supply to Jerusalem from ‘Ayn ‘Arrūb in 888/1478 (*ibid.*, 182; Muḥjir ad-Dīn, AH 1283: 661-662). Similar pen boxes appeared in the blazons of Quṭlūbughā (Mayer, *ibid.*, 193); it consisted of three small pots and three reed holders (*ibid.*, pl. XXXIV). The same elements appeared on the blazons of Ṭashtmur al-‘Alāī described as *amīr dawādār*. He was exiled to Jerusalem and died there in 786/1384. (*ibid.*, 225 pl. LXI 2); on that of ‘Umar al-‘Āqil (*ibid.*, 243); on

that of Aḥmad ad-Dawādār (*ibid.*, 260); on that of Muḥammad b. al-Khiḍr (*ibid.*, 266), and (*ibid.*, 197) a few others.

If this guess is true, then the constructor of the cistern was a *dawādār*.

I am unable to attach any meaningful reading to the partly preserved first half of the second line, and therefore, cannot even propose a guess about the name of the Mamlūk Amīr-*Dawādār* who built the cistern.

TO CAESAREA

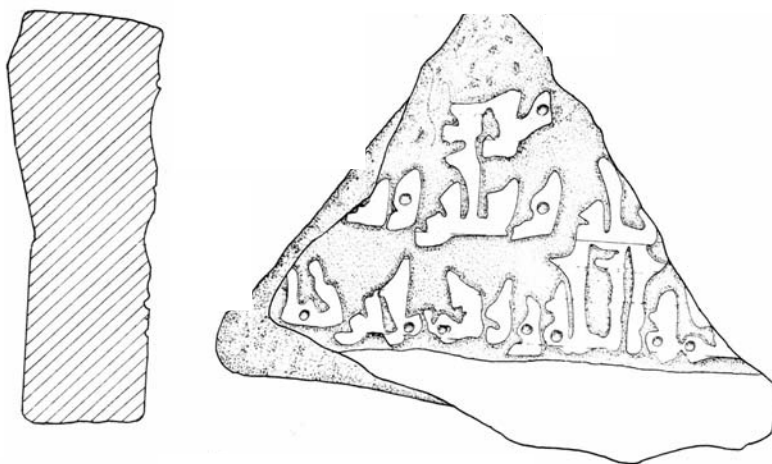
12a

Epitaph of a Muslim

333/Oct. 944-Dec. 944

A triangular fragment broken from a thick slab of marble, 0.40m. (base) 0.30m. (height) discovered in January 2001 during the excavations in a rubble layer to the south of the Crusader wall of Caesarea in area CC60 by the archeological team directed by Joseph Patrich of the University of Haifa. The fragment belonged originally to an ancient sarcophagus or a balustrade. Remnants of 3 lines, monumental angular script typical of the 4th/10th century; heads of letters shaped with “barbs” with tendency to “swallow tails,” no external decorations, no points and no vowels. (Pl. 3)

0 10 cm



Pl. 3. Epitaph of a Muslim from Caesarea 333/945-6 (Courtesy J. Patrich)

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم؟ هذا قبر ...] (١) [توفي يوم ... خلون/يقين] من ربيع-ع
 الأول/الآخر] (٢) [سنة] ثلث وثلث<ي-ن وث- [لشماية] (٣) [رحمه الله ورحم
 من ترحم [عليه]

Basmalah. ... This is the tomb of ... He died on (day of the week) so many days before the end/or after the beginning of the month of) Rabīʿ (1st or 2nd) the year 333 (=945-6). May Allah have mercy on him and on whomsoever implores (God's) mercy for him.

This inscription fits well into the general epigraphic picture of Caesarea. (*CIAP*. 2 *s.v.*), demonstrating the same style of script and decoration current in many epitaphs of the same period, and representing what can almost be called the Caesarea style.

The inscription was found outside the city, and it must have been broken already when it was used as rubble filling material, most probably by the Crusaders in one of their building projects next to the southern wall of the city.

It was not brought from the city but from the Muslim cemetery, which was located to the south of it. Later builders employed tombstones from this cemetery in secondary usage. The large quantities of this marble from the ancient Roman and Byzantine city were exploited more than once in the following generations. Slabs were cut from marble columns, sarcophagi, and other sources, and used both as building material and for inscriptions, and then used again until the large part of the marble found its way to the lime furnaces.

ERRATA

VOLUME 2

p. ix	l. 2	for of	read to
p. ix	l. 14	for c.500CE	read c. 500 CE
p. ix	l. 17	for Mario Santo	read Marino Sanuto
p. ix	l. 23	for wall	read wall,
p. ix	l. 26	for Plan of Church	read Plan of the Church
p. xiii	ll. 19, 24	for process	read progress
p. 2	l. 15	for Yālu	read Yālū
p. 2	l. 16	for 'Abd al-Malik's [hamza before s]	read al-Malik's [apostrophe before s]
p. 2	l. 17	for point	read points
p. 4	l. 8	For Construction text	Read Milestone
p. 8	l. 5	for established	read have established
p. 13	l. 7	for Suyutī	read Suyūṭī

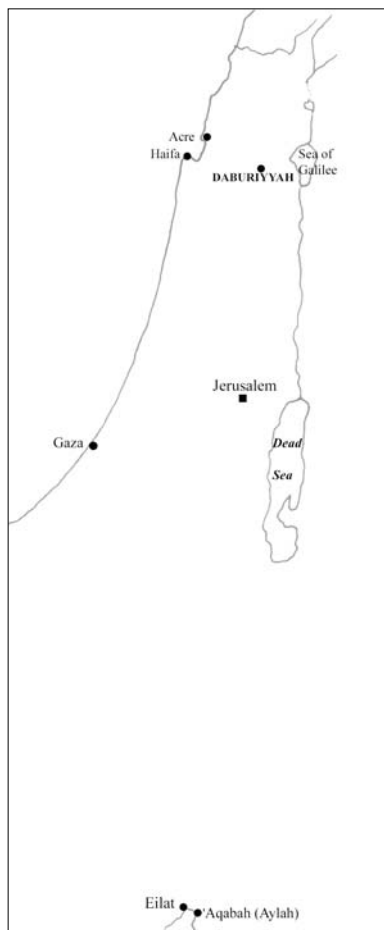
p. 14	l. 15	<i>for drawn</i>	<i>read drawn up</i>
p. 14	l. 20	<i>for mawqūf</i>	<i>read al-mawqūf</i>
p. 14	l. 5 from bottom	<i>for had been</i>	<i>read has been</i>
p. 15	l. 6 from bottom	<i>for Lūt,</i>	<i>read Lūt.</i>
p. 16	l. 22	<i>for and give up</i>	<i>read and to give up</i>
p. 20	l. 23	<i>for q.v.</i>	<i>read s.v.</i>
p. 21	l. 4	<i>for this place</i>	<i>read this blessed place</i>
p. 21	l. 11	<i>for with long vowel</i>	<i>read with the long vowel</i>
p. 23	l. 17 from bottom	<i>for regarded outside</i>	<i>read regarded as outside</i>
p. 29	l. 20	<i>for wa-sur</i>	<i>read wa-ṣūr</i>
p. 32	l. 9 from bottom	<i>for with</i>	<i>read within</i>
p. 35	l. 10 from bottom	<i>for Atābek</i>	<i>read Atābak</i>
p. 38	ll. 15-16	<i>for Muʿīn al-Dīn</i>	<i>read Muʿīn ad-Dīn</i>
p. 44	l. 14 from bottom	<i>for Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī</i>	<i>read Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī</i>
p. 47	l. 10	<i>for هذا (٢) م</i>	<i>read هذا ما (٢)</i>
p. 49	l. 5	<i>for Château [with macron]</i>	<i>read Château [with circumflex]</i>
p. 55	l. 18	<i>for as-Sāliḥ</i>	<i>read aṣ-Ṣāliḥ</i>
p. 56	l. 5	<i>for ʿImad</i>	<i>read ʿImād</i>
p. 59	l. 12	<i>for Ibn Makūlā</i>	<i>read Ibn Mākūlā</i>
p. 63	l. 9	<i>for reasonable assume</i>	<i>read reasonable to assume</i>
p. 70	l. 16 from bottom	<i>for possible the</i>	<i>read possible</i>
p. 76	l. 14	<i>for in the reverse order</i>	<i>read in reverse order</i>
p. 77	l. 13	<i>for Amitai</i>	<i>read Amitai-Preiss</i>
p. 77	l. 12 from bottom	<i>for ولاية</i>	<i>read بولاية</i>
p. 78	l. 7	<i>for al-mi' mār</i>	<i>read al-mi' mār</i>
p. 79	l. 6	<i>for Yūsuf</i>	<i>read Yūsuf</i>
p. 80	l. 4 from bottom	<i>for Amitai, 1990</i>	<i>read Amitai, 1999</i>
p. 82	l. 9 from bottom	<i>for Muʿawiyah</i>	<i>read Muʿāwiyah</i>
p. 83	l. 12 from bottom	<i>for Amitai</i>	<i>read Amitai-Preiss</i>
p. 83	l. 1 from bottom	<i>for Amitai</i>	<i>read Amitai-Preiss</i>
p. 86	l. 12 from bottom	<i>for pure</i>	<i>read purely</i>
p. 91	l. 17	<i>for after him</i>	<i>read called after him</i>
p. 92	l. 11 from bottom	<i>for Fatiḥah</i>	<i>read Fātiḥah</i>
p. 99	l. 10	<i>for وَجْه</i>	<i>read وَجْه</i>
p. 109	l. 9	<i>for āt</i>	<i>read ƠN</i>
p. 115	l. 12	<i>for fi-qasr</i>	<i>read fi qasr</i>
p. 120	l. 7	<i>for as-</i>	<i>read ash-</i>
p. 125	l. 1	<i>for to</i>	<i>read into</i>
p. 133	l. 14	<i>for (١) اللهم اغفر ليز (٢) يد (٣) بن عمر (٤) ان الكندي</i>	<i>read (١) اللهم (٢) اغفر ليز (٣) يد بن عمر (٤) ان الكندي</i>

p. 135	l. 19	<i>for</i> Letters	<i>read</i> The letters
p. 138	l. 4	<i>for</i> Madinah	<i>read</i> Madīnah
p. 139	l. 3	<i>for</i> report report	<i>read</i> report from
p. 141	l. 2	<i>for</i> is believed	<i>read</i> believed
p. 146	l. 3 from bottom	<i>for</i> usually	<i>read</i> usually
p. 149	l. 2 from bottom	<i>for</i> Qur'anic	<i>read</i> Qur'anic
p. 155	l. 3 from bottom	<i>for</i> كطيف خيال	<i>read</i> فہی كطيف خيال
p. 159	l. 20	<i>for</i> Yādīn	<i>read</i> Yadin
p. 161	l. 10 from bottom	<i>for</i> al-Mu'azzam	<i>read</i> al-Mu'azzam
p. 168	l. 5 from bottom	<i>for</i> describes	<i>read</i> described
p. 170	l. 15	<i>for</i> "um"	<i>read</i> "umm"
p. 181	l. 16 from bottom	<i>for</i> 'Umar [with apostrophe]	<i>read</i> 'Umar [with 'ayn]
p. 184	l. 2	<i>for</i> Jibrīl	<i>read</i> Jibrīl
p. 184	l. 16	<i>for</i> Ibn Hawqal	<i>read</i> Ibn Hawqal
p. 189	l. 6 from bottom	<i>for</i> possession	<i>read</i> possession
p. 190	l. 11 from bottom	<i>for</i> Fig.55	<i>read</i> Fig. 55
p. 193	l. 8 from bottom	<i>for</i> Wright	<i>read</i> Wright
p. 195	l. 2 from bottom	<i>for</i> al-Āṣī	<i>read</i> Wādī al-Āṣī
p. 199	l. 18 from bottom	<i>for</i> Muslim	<i>read</i> Muslims'
p. 211	l. 9	<i>for</i> ' ['ayn]	<i>read</i> ' [apostrophe]
p. 211	l. 10	<i>for</i> ' [hamza]	<i>read</i> ' [apostrophe]
p. 215	l. 15 from bottom	<i>for</i> illa	<i>read</i> illā
p. 218	l. 13	<i>for</i> Lassner 1980, esp. note 3	<i>read</i> Lassner 1980 <i>passim</i> , esp. 20, note 3
p. 219	l. 10	<i>for</i> 1319	<i>read</i> 1219
p. 227	l. 11	<i>for</i> reasons	<i>read</i> reason
p. 229	l. 2	<i>for</i> which	<i>read</i> where
p. 231	ll. 7-8	<i>for</i> magnificent	<i>read</i> magnificent
p. 239	l. 2	<i>for</i> this is	<i>read</i> is
p. 239	l. 3	<i>for</i> be) be	<i>read</i> be)
p. 253	l. 15 from bottom	<i>for</i> 'Abdallāh	<i>read</i> 'Abdallah
p. 254	l. 5	<i>for</i> Nāṣir-i-Khuṣraw	<i>read</i> Nāṣir-i-Khusraw
p. 255	l. 12	<i>for</i> Abu Shāmāh	<i>read</i> Abū Shāmāh
p. 256	l. 8	<i>for</i> Nāṣir al-Dīn	<i>read</i> Nāṣir ad-Dīn
p. 256	l. 18 from bottom	<i>for</i> Abī 'l-Faḍā'il	<i>read</i> Abū al-Faḍā'il
p. 257	l. 2 from bottom	<i>for</i> Ṭulūnids	<i>read</i> Ṭulūnids
p. 263	l. 10 from bottom	<i>for</i> Muslim	<i>read</i> Muslims
p. 289	l. 12	<i>for</i> for	<i>read</i> For
p. 289	l. 9 from bottom	<i>for</i> and carved	<i>read</i> and are carved
p. 302	l. 9	<i>for</i> Dhahabī	<i>read</i> adh-Dhahabī
p. 303	l. 20	<i>for</i> Bodlean ms. or.	<i>read</i> Bodleian Ms. Or.
p. 303	l. 21	<i>for</i> Uri750	<i>read</i> Uri 750

p. 304	l. 2	<i>for</i> Jāḥiz,	<i>read</i> Jāḥiz =
p. 304	l. 12	<i>for</i> Caliphates	<i>read</i> Caliphate
p. 304	l. 14	<i>for</i> Kindī	<i>read</i> al-Kindī
p. 304	l. 2 from bottom	<i>for</i> al-Mufaḍḍal	<i>read</i> al-Mufaḍḍal
p. 304	l. 2 from bottom	<i>for</i> wa-al-Durr	<i>read</i> wa-ad-Durr
p. 305	l. 18 from bottom	<i>for</i> as-Safadī	<i>read</i> as-Ṣafadī
p. 306	l. 7	<i>for</i> l'Égypt	<i>read</i> l'Égypte
p. 306	l. 20 from bottom	<i>for</i> Hebron le Haram	<i>read</i> Hébron. Le Haram
p. 306	l. 10 from bottom	<i>for</i> Ya'qūbī	<i>read</i> al-Ya'qūbī
p. 306	l. 8 from bottom	<i>for</i> Ya'qūbī	<i>read</i> al-Ya'qūbī
p. 306	l. 5 from bottom	<i>for</i> Yūnīnī	<i>read</i> al-Yūnīnī
p. 312	l. 30	<i>for</i> Bitūniyā ī	<i>read</i> Bitūniyā
p. 320	l. 26	<i>for</i> Hānūn	<i>read</i> Hānūn
p. 321	l. 21	<i>for</i> rabad	<i>read</i> rabaḍ
p. 322	l. 18	<i>for</i> Sha'afat	<i>read</i> Sha'afāt
p. 323	l. 25 from bottom	<i>for</i> Muḥammad	<i>read</i> Muḥammad
p. 324	l. 14 from bottom	<i>for</i> it_	<i>read</i> it
p. 325	l. 2	<i>for</i> Yālu	<i>read</i> Yālū
p. 325	l. 23	<i>for</i> His	<i>read</i> his
Fig. P1a		<i>for</i> 'Alī	<i>read</i> 'Alī
Fig. P1b		<i>for</i> 'Alī	<i>read</i> 'Alī
Fig. P28		<i>for</i> Sāḥūr [underlined h, circumflex over u]	<i>read</i> Sāḥūr [dot under h, macron over u]
Fig. 2		<i>for</i> Balāṭah [underlined t]	<i>read</i> Balāṭah [dot under t]
Fig. 43		<i>for</i> Sāḥūr [underlined h, circumflex over u]	<i>read</i> Sāḥūr [dot under h, macron over u]
Fig. 43a		<i>for</i> Sāḥūr [underlined h, circumflex over u]	<i>read</i> Sāḥūr [dot under h, macron over u]
Fig. 60		<i>for</i> Aḥmar [underlined h]	<i>read</i> Aḥmar [dot under h]
Fig. 61		<i>for</i> Baysān	<i>read</i> Beth Shean
Fig. 62		<i>for</i> Bidiyā	<i>read</i> Biddiyā
Fig. 83		<i>for</i> Caesarea, Qur'anic text	<i>read</i> Caesarea, Qur'ānic text

DABBŪRIYAH

Is. Gr. 185 233 (N. Is .Gr. 235-733)



A large village at the foot of Mt. Tabor to its west, (Fig. P1) about 175m. above sea level, and 7.5km. east of Nazareth (as the crow flies). It preserved the Biblical name of the ancient site Daberath (Josh. 19:12; 21:28). Among the Arab geographers only Yāqūt (2:437) mentioned it very briefly, indicating that it was a small village (*bulayd*) near Tiberias, and that it belonged to the district of Urdunn.

In the Biblical record it is called Daberath (דַּבְרֶת) and with the article: ha-Daberath. In Greek it was called Dabrāth and Dabiroth, in Latin Dabereth. Josephus calls it Dabaritta. (Δαβαρίττων κώμη. *BJ*, II, 21:3; cf. Smith 1966: 255; *SWP*, 1:363, 366) Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* calls it Dabeira and Dabrath, and indicates that in his days it was a “a village of Jews (*komei ioudaion*).” According to Christian tradition, Jesus’ disciples waited there for him and for the three disciples, Peter, James and John, who had been chosen to witness his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. (Matt., 17:1-14; Mark 9:1ff. Luke 9:28ff;) William of Tyre, late in the 12th century, calls it Buria, most probably mistaking

the letters “*de*” or “*da*” in the name for a preposition. (Cf. Guérin, *Galilée* 1: 140-142, Abel, 2, s.v. Daberath).

After the Crusaders occupied the country, they turned Dabbūriyah (Buria) into a large Frankish village protected, like many such Crusader villages, by a tower (the remains of which could still be seen a few years ago in the yard of a private house near the present mosque). In May-June 1182, al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Izz ad-Dīn Farukhshāh, Saladin’s nephew (died 587/1191; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1(1) 1956:79) attacked Dabbūriyah and destroyed it, killing or taking prisoners most of its inhabitants. (Prawer, 1, 1984:490)

By the time of the Crusades, Christian tradition already connected the place, not only with the events that surrounded the Transfiguration, but also with the miracle performed by Jesus when he healed the epileptic there. (Mat. 17:14-18; Mark 9:16-29) A large church (22m.x10m.), dedicated to the “eight Apostles,” was built there at the end of the Byzantine period, and the Franks built a one-aisle church at about the same place, the remnants of which could still be seen in the middle of the village at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1930 the land where the church stood was bought by the Franciscans who carried out a series of excavations in which they discovered the foundations of the ancient church, and ancient Jewish tombs from the 2nd century.

When Guérin visited Dabbūriyah in 1875, he found parts of the ancient and medieval church still standing. They had been turned into the dwelling quarters of some local family; and above them there was the *maḍāfah*, a special guest room for travellers and visitors.

The following inscription was found on this *maḍāfah*, the only document supplying information about the building activity of the Ayyūbids in Dabbūriyah. Since the remains of the large building are those of the Crusader Church (as both Guérin and the *SWP*, 1:363, 384 suggested, and as the excavations proved), the work initiated by Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, and commemorated by this inscription, could be the renovation of the Christian edifice, and its adaptation for Muslim usage.

1

Construction text

15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 610/3 May 1214

A slab of hard limestone, 0.95x0.68m. embedded in the wall above the lintel of the village guesthouse (*maḍāfah*), with the inscription, 0.75x0.48m, carved in a sunken field and enclosed in an elaborate frame giving the whole inscription the shape of a framed picture. 5 lines divided by bands; monumental Ayyūbid *naskhī*; points, a few vowels; in relief. (Figs. 1,1a) Publication: first fully described and read by Makhoul in May 1932. (IAA, Files, “Dabbūriyah”); Sukenik (Yadin) 11 (= Yadin, 1964, No.7.) (IAA squeeze No. 319, IAA photo No. 3174 courtesy IAA)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَمَا (٢) تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ خَيْرٍ يُؤْفَى (!) إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ [لَا] تُظْلَمُونَ (!) (٣)
 امر بعمارته مولانا السلطان الملك المعظم شرّف (٤) الدنيا والدين عيسى ابن (!) الملك
 العادل ناصر امير المؤمنين (٥) في نصف ذي الحجة سنة عشر وستمائة بولاية حسام الدين
 لؤلؤ

Basmalah. And whatever good ye contribute will be repaid you in full, without your being wronged. (Q, 2:272. Trans. Bell Q, 2: 274b). Has ordered its reconstruction our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn, ‘Īsā b. al-Malik al-‘Ādil the succour of the Commander of the Faithful, in the middle of Dhū al-Hijjah the year 610 (=3 May 1214).

Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam only became the independent sultan of Damascus after the death of his father al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr in 615/1218, but like many other princes of the Ayyūbid house he took the title of sultan as an honorific title not as a regnal title. From inscriptions such as the one from 610/1213-1214 on Mount Tabor (van Berchem, 1903:39 = *Opera Minora* 1:317) and from Bāb an-Nāzir in Jerusalem, in which he is already called “sulṭān” in A.H. 600/1203-04 (*CIA*, 2 *Jerusalem*, “*Haram*,” 58, No. 154). It is clear that he used this title in his father’s lifetime. This inscription resembles, in style and decoration, the inscription from 607/1211 (*RCEA* 10:44, No. 3660) on Mount Tabor commemorating the building of the fortress there by al-Malik al-‘Ādil, and it seems to have been produced by the same hand.

L.2: It is very hard to see the word لا of the Qur’ānic text, but it is difficult to assume that the writer did not know the exact wording of such a famous verse, especially since the omission of the negating word changes completely the meaning of the verse.

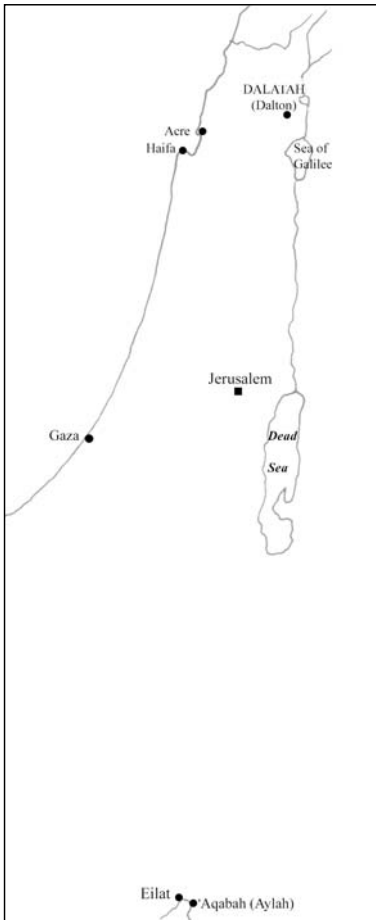
L.4: Yadin attributed the title *nāṣir amīr al-mu‘minīn* to al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā seeing that his father held the title of *khalīl amīr al-mu‘minīn* (as in the inscription of the fortress on Mount Tabor from 607 just mentioned). This assumption is not necessary, since the title combined with *amīr al-mu‘minīn* was not rigid and the sultan could be honoured with a few such combined titles (*al-alqāb al-murakkabah*). In Qalqashandī’s list of titles there is no mention of the combination *nāṣir amīr al-mu‘minīn*, and the title *khalīl amīr al-mu‘minīn* is mentioned as the one bestowed on the sons of the sultans. (Qalqashandī, 6:35ff.) Al-‘Ādil could, therefore, have had both these titles.

L.5: Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lu’lu’ b. ‘Abdallah, the chamberlain (“al-ḥājib”), was already active next to al-Malik al-‘Ādil in Egypt during Salādīn’s lifetime in 587/1191. (Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:79) From his name it is clear that he was a eunuch. According to the protocol in later periods the name Lu’lu’ (pearl)

usually came with the religious title Badr ad-Dīn. (Qalqashandī, 5:489: *alqāb al-khuddām al-khiṣyān*) The name Lu'lu' appears on many inscriptions on Mount Tabor, according to which he also held the high military rank of isfahsalār, and was a first generation Mamlūk (“ibn ‘Abdallah”). In the inscription he is identified as the Mamlūk of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā (*al-malikī al-mu‘zzamī*). This is probably the reason for Yadin’s statement that he could not be identified. (Yadin, 1964:108)

DALĀTAH (Dalton)

Is. Gr. 197 269 (N. Is. Gr. 247-769)



The Arabic name Dalātah preserved the name of the ancient site Dalton (דָּלְתָוֶן) which has been revived in the name of the modern village of Dalton, situated near the ruins of Dalātah about 6km. to the north of the town of Safed. The name Dalātah appears as the name of the place in almost all the medieval Jewish itineraries and in the Genizah Documents. When Guérin visited the place, in the middle of the 19th century, he found a few crudely built houses; the rest of the village was in ruins. The inhabitants of the village came from the Maghrib, and were settled in the place by the Ottoman government. Around the village there are many ancient tombs, which according to Jewish tradition, are the graves of several Tannaïtes (Jose the Galilean, his son Rabbi Ishmael, and others). A Muslim sanctuary near the village is called *an-Nabī Shaykh Ismā'īl*, which Guérin cautiously suggests could be the Muslim version of the Jewish Rabbi Ishmael. (Guérin, *Galilée*, 2:443-444 and bib.)

Epitaph of a Muslim

c. 1318/1900

A slab of limestone, 0.40x0.36m. from the old cemetery, in secondary usage found in an old building. Six lines, late Ottoman provincial *naskhī*; in relief; a few dots and vowels. IAA cat. No. 80-780. (No photo)

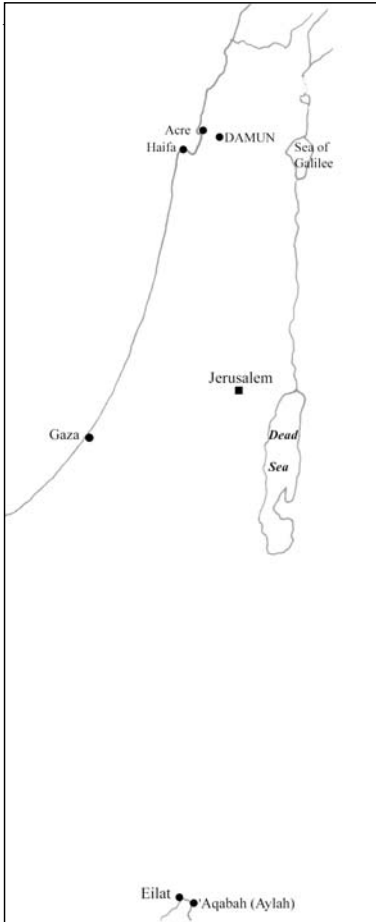
(١) ألفتحة (٢) لا اله الا الله (٣) محمد رسول الله (٤) هذا ضريح (٥) المرحوم محمد (٦) صالح
حميد [ره.]

The *fātiḥah*. There is no God but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. This is the grave of the deceased Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḥamīd (*RH...*)

On the other side of the stone there are a few meaningless digits. The epitaph is of no historical value. In the Middle Ages there was a Jewish community in the village. A Genizah document from the 10th century mentions a family by the name of Dalātī, in reference (*nisbah*) to Dalātah. A small Jewish community lived in the place in the 14th century. (R. Isaac Hilū c.1335. Eisenstien, *Ozar Massa'ot*, 79)

DĀMŪN

Is. Gr. 167 253 (N. Is. Gr. 217-753)



Village about 12km. to the southeast of Akko, (Acre, 'Akkā *q.v.*) on the road to Nazareth, (today in ruins), it was situated on a low hill some 100m. above sea level overlooking the whole of the plain of Acre. The area has always enjoyed plenty of water and fertile land. When Guérin visited the place on August 3, 1875, he found a very prosperous village of about 800 inhabitants, mostly Muslims. The village had two mosques, and, on a hill near it, a local shrine (*walī*) dedicated to Shaykh 'Abdallah. He thought (wrongly) that the place could be identified with *Adami-ha-Negeb* of the Book of Joshua (19:33) identified with Khirbat Tall ad-Dāmiyyah Is. Gr. 193 239. (Aharoni, 1989:329) Guérin perceived that many ancient remains were scattered around the village or used in modern buildings. Dāmūn was identified with the Talmudic village of Damīn (JT, *Magillah*, ch. 1. par. 1, Neubauer, 1868: 225; *cf.* SWP, Galilee 1: 270, 365 Guérin, *Galilée*, 1:424-5)

The name of the place appears in the Arabic sources at least from the 5th/11th century however, long before it must have been known as a place of *ziyārah*, or popular pilgrimage. The local tradition identified a certain cave in it as the tomb of Dhū al-Kifl. The latter is mentioned twice in the Qur'ān (21:85 and 38:48), and the commentators as well as the storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) tried very hard to identify him with a particular prophet or a pious individual. One popular identification, out of many, was that he was Bishr the son of Job, and that he was active in ash-Shām, attempting to convert its king, Kin'ān. His tomb is to be found in many places all over the Islamic world from Balkh to Palestine. In addition to Dāmūn, his tomb is honoured in the village of Kifl Hāris (*q.v.*) near Nābulus

(Shechem). (Mujīr ad-Dīn AH1273:68; 1973(1):73 Clermont-Ganneau heard the local tradition in Kifl Hāris which identified Kifl as the father of Nūn who was the father of Lōsha “none other than Joshua the son of Nūn, whose tomb is located in the village according to Samaritan and Jewish medieval tradition.” (AR, 2:308; SEI, 77)

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, however, found the tomb at Dāmūn. Sometime after visiting the tomb of Nabī ‘Akk at ‘Akkā (Acre) on Saturday 21 February 1047 (23 Sha‘bān 438), he says, “I reached a small cave, which is called Dāmūn, where I performed the *ziyārah* too, for it is said to be the tomb of Dhū al-Kifl, peace be on him.” (Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, 1354:21; Le Strange, 1890:435-436; cf. Marmardji, 1951:45)

It is surprising that Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, himself a Persian, says nothing about the sanctuaries of Dhū al-Kifl identified in his own country and near the village Shūsha in Iraq. Al-Harawī writes that the Jews had places of *ziyārah* in the vicinity of this village. One of these was “the tomb of Dhū al-Kifl, who is the prophet Ezekiel (Hizqīl), peace be on him, in a place called Bar-Malāḥah, east of a village called Qusūnāt. In this village there is the tomb of Bārūkh, Ezekiel’s mentor and his teacher.” (Harawī, 1953:76). Dāmūn is mentioned as part of the Crusader’s domains in the detailed 682/1283 agreement of ceasefire (*hudnah*) between Qalā’ūn and the Franks at Acre. (Qalqashandī, 14:55 printed by mistake: “ar-Rāmūn”)

In the 17th century it was an established village, connected with the early history of the Zaydānī family, which achieved prominence with Zāhir al-‘Umar, the Bedouin Governor of the Galilee in the 18th century (c.1740-1775. Cohen, 1973:7f. 30f. CIAP 1:12ff.)

The mosque of Dāmūn was built by ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ, who apparently was Zāhir al-‘Umar’s uncle, the brother of his father ‘Umar, both sons of Ṣāliḥ. ‘Alī settled in Dāmūn and built the mosque in 1135/1722-23. The inscription commemorating the building of the mosque has long been lost, but Tawfiq Mu‘ammar copied its text, and he also offered the theory regarding the early genealogy of the Zaydānī family. (Mu‘ammar, 1979:28-29)

1

Construction text

1135/1722-3

A slab of marble (?) over the gate of the Mosque (no other details available). 3 lines. Publication: Mu‘ammar, 1979:29.

(١) عَمَّرَ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلتَّقَى وَبَنَاهَا
مَنْ حَلَّ مِنْ رُتَبِ السَّعُودِ ذُرَاهَا

(٢) رَبِّي اَرْضَى عَنْ عَلِيِّ ابْنِ (!) صَالِح
ذُرَاهَا ذُو النَّدَى وَالْمَجْدِ وَالْحَسَبِ الْقَدِيمِ

(٣) زِدْ خَمْسَةَ صَاحِي (!) وَقُلْ تَأْرِجُهُ
شَكَرَ اللَّهُ قُصُودَكُمْ وَرَعَاهَا

Has constructed the Mosques for piety and built them,
He who has occupied the summit of the degrees of good fortunes/fortune
O my Lord be pleased with 'Alī b. Ṣālīḥ,
His are generosity, and glory and long-standing magnificent deeds, which he spread
around
(or: The possessor of generosity, glory and the ancient noble ancestry, even their
peak) (*dhurāhā*)
Add five in clear mind and say (this is) its date
May Allah praise your endeavours and protect them

According to Tawfīq Mu'ammār, he copied the poem during the “time of the British Mandate in Palestine.” (*Ibid.*, 29 n. 9) With no original text it is difficult to verify this reading, which gives us a poem with very broken metre, which should not be surprising taking into consideration that these verses were composed by local “poets” thinking in colloquial Arabic and trying to write in a literary language.

Ll.1-2: I prefer *dhurāhā* in l.1 and the verb *dharāhā* as the rhyme in l.2. If the word *dhurāhā* is repeated as the rhyme in lines 1 and 2, then in line 1 it refers to the position at the summit of felicity where the builder is positioned. The second refers again to him but now with he himself as the summit, the summit of all the wonderful qualities which he possesses: *nadā*—generosity, *majd*—nobility connected with honourable acts, and *ḥasab*, which points to four or more generations of charitable and benevolent ancestors. In this case the *ḥasab* is even more ancient (*qadīm*).

My preferred translation avoids the repetition of the same rhyming word and takes all the words of praise *nadā*, *majd* and *ḥasab* to mean charitable and benevolent deeds, which 'Alī b. Ṣālīḥ scattered around lavishly (*dharāhā*).

L.3: The date of the building is hidden in the numerical value of the last hemistich to which five should be added. The last words of the poem add up to 1130 (520+67+260+283) +5= 1135. According to Mu'ammār, the builder 'Alī b. Ṣālīḥ died in Dāmūn, and his tomb used to be shown in the village. Ṣāḥī instead of ṣāḥīn, is quite a common mistake, influenced by the vernacular

language. The noun *qūṣūd*, in the *plural* form, does not exist in the dictionaries I examined, but it sounds normal to the ear used to vernacular Arabic. I translated it as the plural of *qaṣd*—which means intention, endeavour, and aim. The “poet” created a plural to the noun, which is usually used in the singular. The word *qaṣūd* meaning “fat marrow” does not fit here.

Mu‘ammar insists that this inscription settles the debate concerning the name of Zāhir al-‘Umar’s grandfather. (*Ibid.*, 26f. and notes 7-9)

DAYR AL-BALAH

Is. Gr. 086 092 (N. Is. Gr. 136 592)



A town some 14km. to the south of Gaza (as the crow flies; 19km. by car). In excavations carried out by Trude Dothan for the Hebrew University, and the Israel Antiquities Authority in the ancient site about 3km. south of the present town, she uncovered 9 major strata of habitation from the second half of the 14th century BC until the Byzantine period. (*NEAEHL* (Hebrew) 2, 1992: 414-419)

Today's town developed in the last century from a village occupying the site of a Crusader fortress and small settlement called Darom and Doron. The medieval Arab writers followed the Crusader name, calling it both Dārūm and Dārūn (Harawī, 1953:33). Yāqūt (*s.v.*) dedicated quite a long entry to the place, which includes poems mentioning its name.

He does not refer to its Crusader origin, and says only that it “is a castle beyond Gaza on the way of the traveller to Egypt. He who stands in it can watch the sea which, however, is about one parasang (*farsakh*) away.” In truth the distance between the village of Dayr al-Balah and the sea in the second half of the 19th century,

as testified by Guérin (*Judée*, 2:225), was 1700m. which is about a mile (*mīl*) not a *farsakh*. (It is possible that one of the copyists, or even Yāqūt himself, exchanged the *mīl* by *farsakh*.) Mistakes in distances are also found in other sources. William of Tyre (XX:19), who should have been familiar with the place, mentions that the fortress was built by King Amalric “a few years ago” (*paucis ante annis*), and that it was 4 miles away from Gaza, when in fact it is double this distance away. Both he and Jacques of Vitri give a distance from the sea, which is about half the actual distance (Guérin, *loc. cit*). Both these

sources explain the name of the place as *domus graecorum* reading the name as two words in Arabic *dār-ar-rūm*, (or *dayr ar-rūm*) the house of the Greeks.

Regarding this derivation Quatremère, Le Strange, and Guérin point out that “this is a mistake; Darom in Hebrew means the ‘South Country.’” (Le Strange 1890:437; Guérin, *loc.cit.* and note) This means that before Amalric built the fortress, the place was already known by the name Darom, and Yāqūt mentions that it was one of the places that was occupied by the Muslim armies in the early stages of the Muslim invasion of Byzantine Syria in the year 13/634. (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, Marāṣid 2:508)

The name *Darom* for the southern part of the country and its coastal plain is very ancient. It was used by the prophet Ezekiel (21:2), and is very common in Talmudic sources, (*Tosephta*, *Sanhedrin*, 2:6; Neubauer, 1868:62), where the whole area of the plain of Lydda (Lod, Ludd) and southwards was called Darom or Droma. The Talmudic sages that came from that part of the country were called the sages of Darom to differentiate them from the sages that were active in the northern part of the country, Tiberias, Šippori (Šaffūriyyah) and Caesarea. The Darom was divided into two parts *Droma ‘Illā’ah*—the upper Darom, which included the hilly area to the south of Hebron, and *Droma tattā’ah*, the lower Darom which included the southern Shephelah and coastal plain. (*Tosephta*, *loc. cit.*) Eusebius calls the northern part of the Negev, which could well have included the location of Darom at Dayr al-Balah, *Daromas* (Δαρωμάς) in which he includes the lower hilly area of the Shephela to the south of Bayt Jubrīn (*q.v.* Avi Yonah, 1962:111). Smith, quoting Eusebius and other sources writes:

“The Hebrew word Darom (דרום) or *Daroma* (דרומא, with the Aramaic definite article) meaning south, was applied by Jews shortly before our era to the whole of the Maritime Plain south from Lydda; in Christian times Daroma extended inland to the Dead Sea and absorbed both the Shephela and Negev. The Arabs confined the name to a fortress south of Gaza—the Darom of the Crusaders.” (Smith, 1966:57 and n.6; 58, and notes 1, 2, 3)

Muqaddasī however calls the district of Bayt Jibrīn (Jubrīn, Jibril *CIAP*, 2, *q.v.*) ad-Dārūm (Muqaddasī, 174, English translation by Ranking, 1897:284 and note 1. “At the present day Dairān” Quatremère, 1837-1842 (I, 2): 237).

The exact date of Amalric’s building of the fortress of Darom (Daron) is not known. According to an Arabic source (Zetterstéen, 234) it was built following the conquest of Ashqelon (‘Asqalān) in 548/1153. It already existed in 564/1168 when Amalric started his ill-fated Egyptian campaigns from there. (Abū Shāmah, 1, 1288/1871: 169-170; Prawer, 1, 1984:340-341; Runci-

man, 2, 1957: 297-380) The fortress, according to William of Tyre, was small (measuring a stone's throw from side to side), square, and strengthened by four towers. It was a frontier fort at the southernmost border of the Crusader state, and a seat for the Crusader administration in the south responsible for the collection of taxes in the southern region and of customs from the caravans and travellers on the Sea Route from Egypt.

The Muslim rulers regarded the fortress as a permanent threat to Egypt, as much as it was regarded a key position in any plans of attack on the Crusader territories. In 1170, following the retreat of Amalric from his fifth expedition to Egypt, and shortly before ending the Fāṭimid rule, Saladin decided to invade the Crusader Kingdom, and his first aim was the fortress Darom. In spite of initial success, the fortress did not fall. (Runciman, 2:390; Prawer, 1: 348-349) After the Battle of Hittīn, (583/1187) when Saladin advanced from the north along the coast, he occupied Ashqelon and its environs including the fortress of Darom, and gave orders to demolish it. (Abū Shāmāh, 2 1871: 88; Ibn al-Athīr, 11:546) The fortress, however, was not demolished. It was given to 'Alam ad-Dīn Qaysar to keep and defend, and it "was filled with provisions, ammunition, and men," ('Imād ad-Dīn, 1888:422), and strengthened with towers. On May 24, 1192 it fell after a short siege into the hands of Richard Lion-Heart (*Ibid*, Prawer, 2:77, 86), who decided in July that year to demolish it. ('Imād ad-Dīn, *loc. cit.*, Ibn al-Athīr, 13: 81; Mujīr ad-Dīn, 1283:340; Prawer, 2:90) It was however rebuilt and used by the Egyptians as a bridgehead in their attempts on the Crusader territory. In 592/1196, al-Malik al-'Azīz of Egypt decided to demolish the fortress fearing its fall into the hands of the Franks. The destruction of the fortress was met with public resentment because travellers benefitted from it greatly (Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1956, 1:134; *cf.*, Ibn Shaddād, 1963:264).

The name Dayr al-Balah does not represent the fortress nor the small medieval settlement around it, but the new village. Mujīr ad-Dīn speaks about the fortress of ad-Dārūm in the context of its Crusader-Ayyūbid history (Mujīr ad-Dīn, AH 1283: 289, 290, 345, 605. 1973 (1): 327, 391; (2): 269), but mentions nothing about it in his time.

Guérin, who visited the place on May 29, 1863, identified it with Darom. He describes a small village partly ruined of about 350 inhabitants. In 1862, he says, the place suffered a high rate of mortality because of stagnant water. According to a local tradition the mosque was built over the chapel of an ancient convent. The place was called after the date palms, which were carefully tended by the local farmers. (Guérin, *Judée* 2:223 ff.)

The *SWP* describes Dayr al-Balah in the fourth quarter of the 19th century

in very similar words to Guérin's, only that in the 15 years since Guérin's visit the village had grown, and was then described as "a large mud village on flat ground with wells and a small tower..."

This source also indicates that the village got its name from "a grove of date-palms" on its west. After noting its historical origin, the *SWP* adds "the place is now the See of a Greek Bishop resident in Jerusalem." (*SWP*, 3 *Judea*: 234).

The local inhabitants informed the surveyors of the *SWP* that the name of the place had been "Deir Mār Jiryis—Monastery of St. George." St. George is the most venerated local saint in Palestine. He is identified with the figure of al-Khaḍir whom the commentators of the Qur'ān identify with the servant of God with whom Mūsā has a very interesting experience. (Q, 18:60-82) Al-Khaḍir is also identified with Prophet Elijah. All three figures found their way into many local legends and sanctuaries. Mār Jiryis (colloq. Jiryes) is the name used for St. George by the local Christians, while among the Muslims the more common name is al-Khaḍir (and also al-Khiḍir al-Khiḍr). The name of St. George is closely connected with Lydda where the Church, which was called after him, gave its name to the whole town in the Middle Ages. (On the legend and the relations between the names of al-Khaḍir, Elijah and St. George, see Cleremont-Ganneau, *AR*, 1, 1899:249; 2, 1896:108-109 and the references there. For the origins and the development of the figure in Islam see "Khaḍir" *EI*, and *SEI*, *s.v.* On some places and legends connected with al-Khaḍir see Canaan, 1927:58, 79, and 94). It is not surprising therefore to find the name also in Dayr al-Balah where the local tradition identifies the name of al-Khaḍir with Mār Jiryis or St. George. The connection of Dayr al-Balah with its ancient site Darom (Dārūm) was preserved in Gaza. The Gate of Gaza, on the road leading towards the village, was called Bāb Dārūn. When the *SWP* surveyors visited the village, it had no Christian inhabitants, although there had been Christian families some thirty years earlier. (*SWP*, *loc. cit.*)

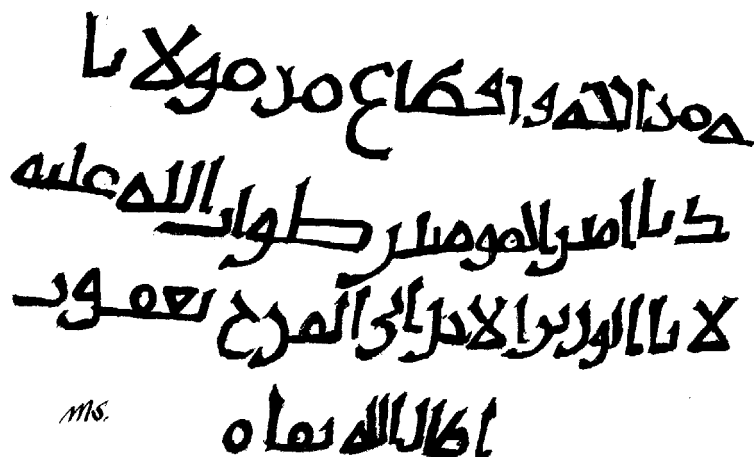
After the demolition of the fortress by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, it is not clear for how long it was deserted. However, after the consolidation of the Mamlūk rule in Egypt and Syria, and the establishment of the stations on the major route which connected Cairo with Damascus, deviating only slightly from the ancient Sea Route (*Via Maris*), Dārūm, still retaining its ancient name, was one of the halting posts on the way to Gaza. (ʿAtallah, 1979:72). Ibn Faḍlallah al-ʿUmarī (d.749/1349), however, does not mention Dārūm in his list of the stations on this route. Only one station—Salqah—exists in his list between Rafah and Gaza (*ibid.* 108). This could

The *SWP* gives a detailed description of the chapel on which the mosque of al-Khadr was built indicating that it also contained a masonry cenotaph “placed north and south in the middle of the chapel, said to be the tomb of Mār Jirjis or St. George.” (*SWP*, 3 *vol. cit.* 247)

1

368-380/978-91

A short and slender marble column with an inscription 0.26x0.125m. built in the courtyard of the *muṣallā* to the right of the entrance. 4 lines; angular Fāṭimid script, the ends of many letters decorated with barbs and swallowtails, incised. (Pl. 4) No points, no vowels. (What Musil identified as points over the *nūn* of *mawlānā* (l.1) and the *qaf* of Ya‘qūb seem to be damages to the stone that can be observed elsewhere too). Squeeze taken by Musil in March 1898; IAA (PAM) squeeze: S.160-161. Publication: Musil, *WZKM*, 22, 1908: 84-85, fig. 3. *RECA* 5:160, No. 1937. Final reading by Max van Berchem.



Pl. 4. Dayr al-Balah 368-380/979-91

(١) [بركة من الله واقطاع من مولانا ٢] وسيدنا امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه (٣) [لانا الوزير الاجل ابي الفرج يعقوب ٤] اطل الله بقاءه

Blessing from Allah and a granted estate from our lord and master the Commander of the Faithful, may Allah bless him, to our lord the most exalted vizier Abū al-Faraj Ya'qūb, may Allah extend his life.

The vizier, Abū al-Faraj Ya'qūb b. Killis (318/930-1-380/991) was the great administrator and finance genius of Kāfūr, and the early Fāṭimids. He was a Jew from Baghdād who came to Egypt in 331/942-3 and soon involved himself, through his great financial and administrative ability, in the politics and court life of Egypt. Knowing that as a Jew his possibilities in the Egyptian politics were limited, he adopted Islam in 356/967. However, he had to flee Egypt to the Maghrib, having raised the jealousy of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt. He returned to Egypt with the Fāṭimids and from 363/973 was responsible for building their excellent administration and financial system. (Maqrīzī, 1996 (1):144-147) In Muḥarram 367/Aug. 977, Caliph al-'Azīz (365/975-386/996) nominated him to the post of *wazīr* (*ibid.*, 242) and in Ramadān 368/April 979 bestowed on him the title *al-wazīr al-ajall*. His death in 380/991 caused a great sorrow to the caliph, and to the country in general. (On the particular affection (and huge gifts) of the caliph for him see *ibid.*, 252; on his unusually lavish funeral *ibid.*, 268 and n.1, 269; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* 2:6-8 quoting Ibn aṣ-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, ed. Mukhlis, 21, on which C.H. Becker's article "Ibn Killis" in *EI* is based; Ibn Khallikān, 7:27-35; *Nujūm*, 4:158; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, 1908:32; cf. *CIA Egypt* 2:144)

The caliph mentioned in l.2 is the Fāṭimid al-'Azīz who bestowed on Ibn Killis the title of *al-wazīr al-ajall*. The inscription could not have been written before this date (368/979). The Caliph bestowed the fife on his beloved vizier sometime between this date and 380/991, the date of Ibn Killis's death. On 'Azīz particular attention to Ibn Killis and the huge presents he used to bestow on him see Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, 2, 2. On his death, see *ibid.* 208, 209. If the inscription was actually found *in situ* or near its initial place, then one can imagine that Ibn killis was probably given a large estate with date palms around what later was to be called Dayr al-Balah.

2

Epitaph to a Muslim

10 Rajab, 690/9 July 1291

A slab of marble 0.67x0.30m. 8 lines: fine provincial *naskhī* script; points, a few vowels incised. In the middle of line 2 a blazon in the form of perfectly stylized leaf or inverted drops about 0.08cm. long, decorated with two diagonal stripes slanting from left to right dominating the whole field of the blazon. According to the registrations in the British Mandatory files of the Department of Antiquities (IAA, file “Deir el-Balah”), the inscription was found in Dar el-Aqluq (sic!). No more details exist about the site; it certainly was used in a secondary usage in that building. IAA Squeeze No. 155, 160-1, photo No. 1968. (Figs. 2, 2a. courtesy IAA)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) كل من عليها فان ويبقا (١) وجه (٣) ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام
(٤) هذا قبر الفقير الى الله (٥) تعالى شمس الدين روس الحلي (٦) البانياسي من مضافين (١)
تقصبا السلاح (٧) دار المنصوري توفاه (١) يوم العاشر (٨) من شهر رجب المبارك سنة تسعين
وستمـ[ة] (١)

Basmalah. Everyone upon it passes away. But the face of thy Lord, full of Glory and honour, doth endure. (Q. 55:26). This is the tomb of the needy for (the mercy of) Allah the Exalted Shams ad-Dīn Rūs al-Hillī al-Bāniyāsī from the entourage of Tuqsubā the Silāh-dār al-Manṣūrī. He died on the 10th of the blessed month of Rajab the year 690 (=July 9, 1291)

There are a few strange elements in this inscription, which if it actually originated from Dayr al-Balah—Dārūm—itself, means that at the end of the 13th century the place was inhabited, since it is very unlikely (though not impossible) that an important person was buried in a deserted place. By 1291, Dārūm assumed its position in the area that had already been well inside the Muslim territories after the successful campaigns of Baybars, Qala’ūn and Khalīl that ended the crusader presence in Syria and Palestine.

L.5: The name of the deceased is Rūs, and the title *Shams ad-Dīn* is common for both Mamlūk officers and non-Mamlūks. The two *nisbahs* al-Hillī and al-Bāniyāsī are clear. The deceased came from Bāniyās (*q.v.*) or was expelled from there. He is also identified in the inscription as belonging to the “*muḍāfin*”—the entourage, or those who “were added” to the retinue of an *amīr* of high rank—*Silāh-dār* (in two words, as it should be), a title which was given to each one of the *amīrs* of the court who carried a piece of the

Sultān's arms and military equipment. ("and he was always one of the senior *amīrs*." Qalqashandī, 4:18; *CIAP*, 1:109). All these elements make the inscription very strange and rather unique.

The name Rūs is a well-known name; it also appears as Urūs (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 3, 1985:489; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3, 1971, index). The most famous *amīr* with the name Rūs was Baybughā Rūs al-Qāsimī an-Nāṣirī (whose name appears over 50 times in Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2 (3), 1958, index, under Baybughā Rūs al-Qāsimī). He was very active in the Mamlūk politics of the first half of the 8th/14th century, and was executed in Ḥalab in 753/1352 (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *ibid.*, or in 754/1353 according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*; Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, 2 (3) 1958:905 (where his biography is summarized), and other sources see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 3:486 n. 2). Commenting on the name Rūs (Urūs), Ibn Taghrī Birdī (*idem*. 485) says that it is a name of "one of the tribes of the Tartars of the north" (*qabīlah min qabā'il at-tatar fī ash-shamāl*).

The blazon is also unusual. Yet if the Mamlūk in question was of a low rank, what is the meaning of the heraldic shield placed so prominently on the inscription? Does it belong to him or to his master? Most probably the second possibility seems more plausible. Who is the master? The name of this Silāhdār who belonged to one of the Mamlūks of Sultān al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn (hence his *nisbah* "al-Manṣūrī") is clear. This Mamlūk Amīr could very well be Urūs *as-Silāhdār* (thus in our source) who was executed in a most horrible fashion in 693/1294 on the orders of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn, when he began his first reign, together with other *amīrs* who had taken part in the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl (689/1290—693/1294). (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, 1998:299)

The letters forming the name Tuqṣubā are clear and follow the typical style of writing in this inscription where the diacritical points are placed under the letter if there is no place above it like in the word *al-āshir* (1.7) where the three points of the *shīn* appear *under* the letter. In this case the two points of the letter *qāf* also appear under the letter.

The name Tuqṣubā is spelt here with a *tā'*, this is only a variant of the usual spelling with a *ṭā'*. The name Ṭuqṣubā, which is a shortened version of Ṭuqṣubāy is not an uncommon name of Mamlūks. Thus we find the names of Amīrs Ṭuqṣubā al-Ḥuṣāmī (who is also called Ṭuqṣubāy al-Maghribī, Maqrīzī *sulūk*, 2(1):1971:194, 250; Zetterstéen, 160, 163, 165, 169). Another one is Ṭuqṣubā az-Zāhirī *amīr Tablkhānah* in reports from the years 720 and 723 (*ult. op.cit.* 170, 174).

But probably the most possible candidate for being the *amīr* mentioned in the inscription is 'Alam ad-Dīn Ṭuqṣubā, Sanjar b. 'Abdallah ad-Dawādārī

an-Nāṣiri Abū Muḥammad. His many *nisbahs* are not unusual for a first generation Mamlūk amīr, to which should be added the *nisbah* of *al-Manṣūrī*, since he was to begin with an amīr of al-Manṣūr Qalā'un, (*Manhal*, 6, 1990: 789) which entitles him to this *nisbah* as well (although, admittedly, it does not appear in sources). He was also one of the amīrs of al-Manṣūr Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lājīn (696/1297-698/1299) but does not seem plausible to attribute his *nisbah* to the service under this short-lived sultan. He must have had it already, as well as the *nisbah an-Nāṣirī*, with which he is identified in the sources that attach him to an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'un. (Maqrīzī, *op. cit.* 2(2):314) He also served under the sultan al-ʿĀdil Zayn ad-Dīn Kitbugha al-Manṣūrī (694/1295-696/1297). This Tuḡsubā died in 697 when, during the siege of Mar'ash, he was injured in his knee, and died soon afterwards on the way to Ḥalab on 29 Ramaḍān. (Zetterstéen, 45; *Manhal*, *loc. cit.*)

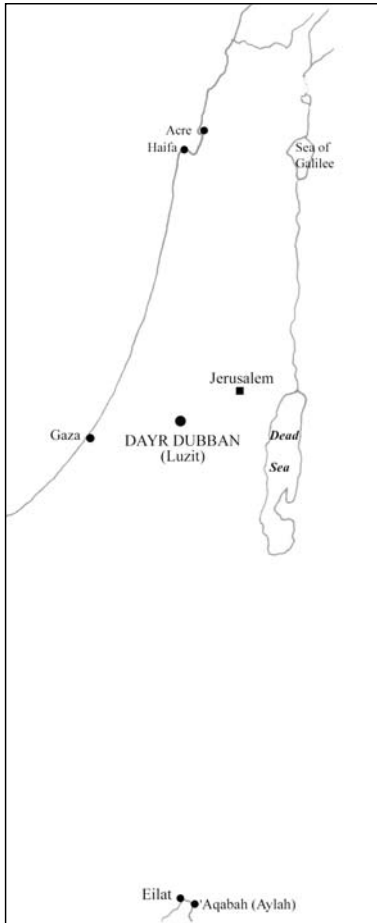
If it is only a co-incidence then at least the date of our inscription makes it very possible that Tuḡsubā who appears here as the master of the deceased, is ʿĀlam ad-Dīn Sanjar who could well have received the position of a *Silāḥ-dār* as well. This could be of course a far-fetched guess, and other sources, if found, might verify or reject it. If my suggestion is right then the blazon belonged to ʿĀlam ad-Dīn Tuḡsubā as well. (Cf. CIA, *Jérusalem "Ville"* 1:219 and n.4 where van Berchem deals with the same problem).

The blazon: Two diagonal bars attached to the field of a pointed shield. The two bars are in fact a fesse creating a three-fielded shield (Mayer, 1933: 17). The usual occurrence of the fesse is on a disc. Here the charge is on a pointed shield. Since we have no details about the people whose names appear in this inscription we cannot say much about the blazon, which at any rate is problematic, (*Ibid.*, 17, 25) in spite of the fact that pear shaped pointed shields are quite common in Muslim heraldry. (*ibid.*, Pl. 27 and Pl. IV-10)

It is however, useful to refer here to Mayer's remarks about the three fielded shield created by a fesse, without any other emblem, which "occurs several times as blazon of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, especially of those who in the second half of the thirteenth century were elevated to the rank of amīr." Our inscription belongs to this early date of Islamic heraldry, and the shield on it represents the type of blazon that belonged to amīrs who held offices of no great importance, such as the *silāḥ dār* (the armour bearer) or *dawādār ṣaghīr* (junior dawādār) or *amīr akhūr ṣaghīr* (junior marshal) etc. (*ibid.*, 5, referring to M. van Berchem *CIA, Jerusalem, "Ville,"* 1:290).

DAYR DUBBĀN (‘Irāq ad-Dayr)

Is. Gr. 138 120 (N. Is. Gr. 188 620)



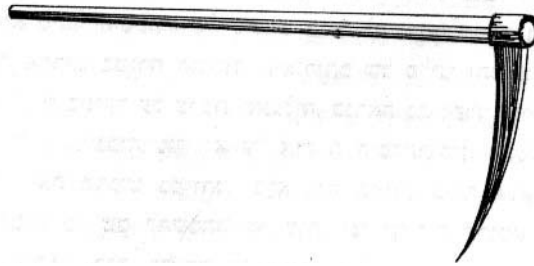
Dayr Dubbān (Dhubbān, literally: the Monastery, or the Place, of the Flies) was a small village, now completely disappeared, near the modern village of Luzit, situated to the north of the main road, about half way, between Jerusalem and Ashqelon (Ascalon ‘Asqalān).

On May 21 1863, Victor Guérin visited the place which consisted of “seven or eight poor peasant families living in half dilapidated huts.” On the rugged plateau on which this little village was built, Guérin found many round openings in the rocks which looked like the openings of wells. In spite of the fact that the local inhabitants called them *al-biyār*, these were not wells but round apertures giving access and lighting to huge underground cavities dug into the white limestone (Figs. **P2**, **P3**, **P5**). These large artificial caves are a very common feature of the whole area of Bayt Jibrīn (*q.v.* *CIAP* 2) and its surroundings. The soft limestone of the low hills, the common topographical characteristic of this region, is pierced by hundreds of these curious bell shaped cavities, and rightly deserves the popular appellation “The Land of the Thousand Caves.”

The usual explanation regarding the origin of the caves is that they were quarries. The clear signs of digging tools on the walls leave no question as to their artificial origin. However there remains the question why the diggers chose such a difficult system of excavation, which obliged them to work their way into the heart of the rock through a relatively small hole, less than one meter across, through which they also had to pass the quarried material, when they could easily dig the soft stone into an open quarry. (Fig. **P3**) The only

possible explanation for such a practice could be related to the nature of the quarried limestone. The diggers worked their way into the heart of the hill through breaking the hard top-crust of the limestone (*nān*, in the local Arabic), which hardens when exposed to the elements. Once the diggers reached the heart of the rock, they found it easier to dig the soft material and pass it up through the narrow opening. (Fig. P5). After the bell-like cavity had been dug deep enough, an opening was cut at the side through which the quarried material could be carried out by using animals. (Figs. P4, P7). This system of quarrying is not unique to this area. It was quite common in other places in the world since ancient times. Pliny in his *Natural History* (XVII, 4) reports about a similar method used in England and France for quarrying the material of the soft cretaceous rock, which was used for the fertilization of the fields. The same old method was used in England until the late 19th century. The holes through which the chalky material was transferred to the ground surface, in a very similar method to the one used at Dayr Dubbān, Bayt Jibrīn and elsewhere in their vicinity, can be found scattered in many places in east England (Norfolk).

To mine the stone, the diggers used a special pick which left very typical marks on the walls of the caves (Pl. 5). This method of mining proved good and relatively easy, taking into consideration the softness of the rock, which counts for its usage for many centuries. Unlike England and France, in Dayr Dubbān and its vicinity the cretaceous material was not used for fertilization. It supplied the lime furnaces and was widely employed in the manufacturing of cement. (Ben Aryeh, 1968:126-136, illustrations and bibliography)



Pl. 5. Stone digger's pick (Skerchley, 1879)

When describing the identical caverns at Bayt Jibrīn I remarked:

“Once inside the heart of the hill, they (the diggers) could widen the scope of quarrying as they went down. In other words, this method, which was known for ages to the well diggers, enabled access to useable building material with minimal effort. In an open quarry, the need to dig into the mountain through a very large area of hard crust was

time and energy-consuming and must have seemed unnecessary, especially since the blocks of stone which had to be quarried were much smaller than the original access hole at the top of the hill.” (CIAP 2:128)

It was only natural that the huge bell-shaped caves created in this fashion, once exploited as quarries, were utilized for dwelling, and put into other practices. The many crosses and other Christian symbols, as well as the Arabic inscriptions, attest to a long period of human habitation. Various niches and other recesses dug into the walls in many of the caves also attest to their employment as dwelling places.

Not far from the village, there is another site which was locally called ‘*Irāq ad-Dayr*—the hill of the monastery. The word ‘*irāq* (colloq. *I’rāq*, ‘*erāq*, and ‘*arāq*) means in Arabic both high and steep mountain, as well as a low hill (*Lisān*, 10:249b), and Guérin’s translation of the word as *colline rocheux* is quite correct.

‘*Irāq ad-Dayr* consists of a number of bell shaped caves, the walls of which were pierced to enable easy access from the outside, and passage between each other. (Fig. P4) The roofs of some of the caves collapsed. No major changes have happened since Guérin visited the site, and his description is still valid, accurate, and illuminating.

Some nine hundred meters to the West-Northwest from there (the village), I examined similar excavated cavities known as ‘*Arāk (sic!) ad-Dayr Dubbān*. They consist of three separate groups, and are of great interest.

In the largest group there are about fifteen magnificent halls opening the one into the other, and their ceiling is funnel-like, similar to the ones, which I have already mentioned. The light enters from an opening on the top, and their base is round, measuring nineteen paces; their height varies between eight to twelve meters.

In the other two groups there are fewer halls, and they have not been well preserved. Some are totally destroyed, others only in part.

When I examined these beautiful excavations, I was especially excited by one hall, the largest, and the most impressive of them all. In the walls, on the inside, from the floor level up to the middle of their heights, a few parallel rows of small niches, triangular or in a shape of a crescent were dug. They resemble dovecotes, the function of which is unknown to me. It is certain that they did not serve for burial...

On one of the walls of this hall it is possible to see four crosses engraved into the rock, three large ones, and one smaller than the others. The first three have thick edges; at the end of each there are two short projections forming a wide angle... Were they engraved in the Byzantine period, or in the Middle Ages? I do not know. They could not have been later to the time of the Crusades, for Christianity disappeared from this part of the country after the Crusades, and it does not seem possible that some tourist could have engraved them in a later period, for he would have needed a very high ladder. Besides, the cut in wall caused by their incision has resumed the colour of the wall, which means that they are at least a few hundred years old.

Next to the described hall there is another, smaller one, at the far end of one of the groups. In its walls there are open niches reaching to the ceiling. They are arranged in rows and are certainly similar to the ones in the large hall. There is a huge block of stone about two and a half meters high, standing there. Was it an ancient holy stone from ancient times? The detail, which might strengthen such presumption, is the fact that it is standing in the innermost hall and could serve as a high platform for all the rest.

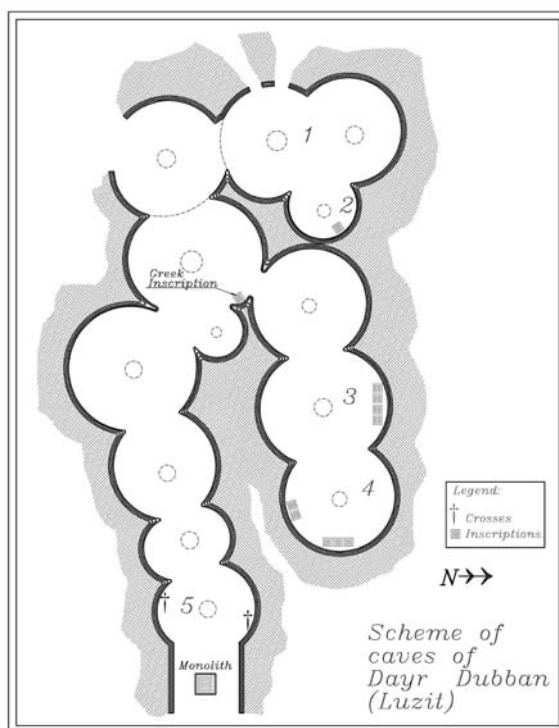
In the third hall, I saw a few inscriptions, one of them quite long. They were disorderly, and shallowly engraved on the walls in ancient Kūfī characters. Not having a ladder to reach their height, I could not prepare a copy of them, and unfortunately, I could neither copy them by hand for the sky was partly cloudy; the sun, which from time to time was covered by clouds, could throw but very faint light into this subterranean hall, through the opening at its top, to enable me to see all the letters. However these inscriptions, which were probably engraved at the beginning of Islam, namely, hundreds of years after the excavation of the hall itself, hardly teach us anything about the period to which these huge caves should be attributed or about their initial usage. (Guérin, *Judée*, 2, 1868:104-106).

Guérin, like other scholars in his time, thought that the caves were very ancient and belonged to the Biblical period (after St. Jerome. Abel, *Géographie*, 1:443 and 2:273). He could see great similarity between these caves and the huge underground cavities at the village of Hawriyyah in Tunisia, called *al-ghār al-kabīr*—the ‘great cave,’ which he attributed to the Phoenicians on his visit to the place in 1860. (*Idem*, *Judée*, 2, 1868:98-99) There is hardly any question, however, that the quarries at Dayr Dubbān and the rest of the vicinity of Bayt Jibrīn (Jubrīn) belong to a much later period. (Ben Arie, 1962:47-61)

The following inscriptions belong to the same period of the ones found in the caverns of Bayt Jibrīn. They show the same style, and represent similar communities of cave dwellers. It is clear that great number of these caverns, scattered over the large area of the “Land of the Thousand Caves,” were inhabited by groups of people, first Christians and then Muslims, who conducted in them communal activities, and practiced their religion; There is evidence that there was even a transitional period from Christianity to Islam in these cave communities. It is possible to follow the transformation of the supplications and invocations in the inscriptions that were accompanied, sometimes, by crosses, into more Islamic ones. It should also be pointed out that there is no doubt that many of these caverns collapsed and buried their inscriptions. Many caverns, some covered by overgrowth, still await proper study. When this is done, I have no doubt that the scope of this phenomenon of cave dwellings in the area will prove to have been extensive both in scope and duration.

As Guérin remarked, these inscriptions (Greek and Arabic), as well as the many stylized crosses, were cut into the rock by people who dwelt in the caves, and not merely by visitors or passers by. Many were engraved with much precision and required time and professional skill. The incision of the letters deep into the rock, soft as it was, needed good tools and a few days of work. From another inscription at *ʿIrāq al-Mā* (colloq. *al-Mayyeh*) in Bayt Jibrīn, it is possible to presume that people with knowledge of writing were commissioned by others to inscribe pious formulae for them. (*CIAP*, 2: 132f). Some of these inscriptions were incised very high on the bell-shaped walls of the caverns. This excludes, as Guérin pointed out, the casual scribble of a visitor without proper means (ladders, ropes), much time, and motivation. On the other hand, some graffiti-like inscriptions on the lower part of the walls could well be the work of occasional travellers. The monumental Greek inscriptions which one finds in these caves are additional proof for their long occupation by permanent dwellers, whose ethnic, religious, and language identities were changed after the Islamic occupation.

In the following plan the inscriptions numbers correspond to the letters by which the caves are referred to in the IAA files.



Scheme of the caves in Dayr Dubbān (plan: Daniel S. Sharon)

1

Invocation

Early 2nd/8th c.**A. Cave 2**

From the entrance into the complex on the north, cave 1 leads into cave 2, the last on this section. On the eastern and south eastern-wall of the cave, about 0.80m. above the present ground level, one line running roughly along half of the cave's circumference, 7.30m. long; height of letters 0.28m. Angular, provincial, fairly professional script; early to middle 2nd/8th century, in deep incision; no points and no vowels. (Pl. 6)



Pl. 6. Inscription in cave 2

لا اله الا الله وحده اللهم صلى على حبيب ابن (!) سو[يد]

There is no god but Allah alone. O Allah, bless Ḥabīb b. Suwayd.

The style of the letters represents the monumental writing of the late 7th early 8th centuries: precise, angular characters, which remind us of the style used even in monumental Umayyad inscriptions (*cf.* CIAP, 2, s.v. “Bāb al-wād,” “Bayt Jibrīn” Figs. 32,35,37)

The invocation *allahumma ṣalli* (the *yā'* after the *lām* in the imperative is a common error) comes usually in connection with the name of the Prophet. It is not frequently used in the case of an ordinary believer, for whom formulae like *irḍaʿan* or *ighfir li* are in more regular usage. (Sharon, 1990:24* and *passim*; CIAP, 2: 134-136; *cf.* Q, 33:56). There is nothing wrong, however, in asking Allah to bless the believer using the verb *ṣalli*. (CIAP, 2:135 no. 7; there *ṣalli* is written correctly). Such an invocation is perfectly compatible with the Qurʾānic assertion that Allah is “He it is who pronounceth blessings over you (*huwa alladhī yuṣallī ʿalaykum*), and His angels also, that he may bring you out of the darkness into the light.” (Q, 33:43 tr. Bell 33:42) Qurʾān commentators and traditionalists discuss in detail the exact meaning of “Allah’s *ṣalāt*,” or God’s blessing (lit. “prayer”), in the case of the Prophet and in the case of the believers. In the latter’s case it is reported that the Prophet himself, having been asked by a woman to bless her, said: “Allah blesses you and your

husband” (صلى الله عليك وعلى زوجك). (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* to Q, 33:56).

The name حبيب is clear. The writing of *ibn* with the *alif* is found in so many inscriptions that it cannot be regarded as an error. The name of Ḥabīb’s father, Suwayd, was preserved only in part. The first two letters of the name س and و are perfectly clear. Unfortunately, a later hand chipped away the part of the rock which contained the other letters. The reconstruction of Suwayd is probable, although a few other names are also possible. I decided on this name because I believe that the traces of the *dāl* may still be detected on the rock. Ḥabīb b. Suwayd, of the tribe of Asad (to mention one famous person bearing this name) was a celebrated general in the army of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alī who rebelled against the second ‘Abbāsīd caliph (his own nephew), al-Manṣūr (137/754-5; Ṭabarī, 3:96). I do not suggest, of course, that this is the same person. The name Suwayd was fairly common (26 times in Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; *Lisān*, 3, 231b; cf. *CIAP*, 2:97).

2

Invocations

Early 2nd/8th c.

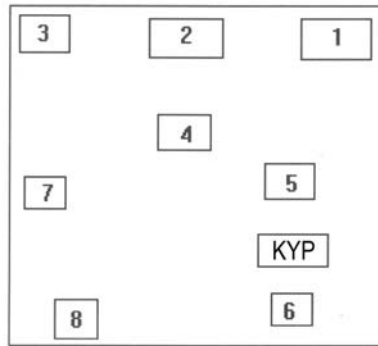
B. Cave 3.

Cave 3 is a very large enclosure, which includes a passage, or rather a large room without a hole in its roof, leading to cave 4 to its south. The eastern wall of this enclosure is covered with 8 inscriptions of various sizes, from the ground level to a height of 6m. More inscriptions are still buried under the rubble that presently forms the floors of the caves. Three letters from a Greek inscription KYR... (beginning, most probably, with the brief petition *kyrie eleison* (*eleēson*) common in the Eastern Churches (but found also in Catholic liturgy) are still visible about 1m. above the ground between two Arabic inscriptions. This and other Greek inscriptions, as well as the many crosses, in this and other caves on this site and in the caves at Bayt Jibrīn, testify to the use of these caves in the Byzantine period. The Orthodox Church official Arabic translation of *kyrie eleison* is “*yā rabb irḥam*—Lord have mercy.” This is exactly the translation of the invocation “*allāhumma ighfir*,” or “*allāhumma irḥam*” common to these inscriptions. This form of invocation, or supplication, is found on scores of inscriptions in Palestine as well as elsewhere in the Middle East. (For many examples see Hoyland, 1997:77ff.) It is tempting to regard this Greek supplication as well as other similar ones (such as *kyrie prosdexe*, *kyrie synchōrēson*...) as the source of inspiration for these very similar Arabic texts (*Ibid.*, 89-90). Such direct influence should not

be ruled out especially in Syria, where the Christian population was partly Arabic speaking before Islam, and could have easily carried its liturgical tradition into Islam. It is also possible that the supplications, which came independently from pure Arab, and later, Islamic origin, fitted well into the former Christian traditions. (See detailed discussion, in *ibid.*, 87. ff.)

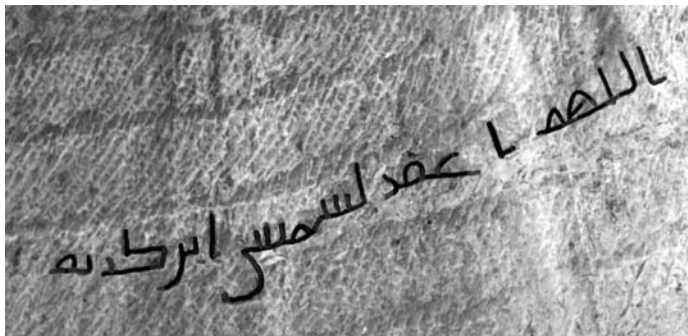
Most of the Arabic inscriptions were engraved by the same hand, and therefore at the same time. This suggests that they were not written during the digging of the cave, but long after the caves had ceased to serve as quarries, and were used for dwellings. It should be noted that since the marks created on the walls of the caves by the digger's picks are frequently as deep, and in about the same direction of the incised letters of the inscriptions, many "lines" may be mistaken for letters, a fact which complicates the reading of the inscription, and may mislead the untrained eye.

The description and reading of the Arabic inscriptions on this wall follow the scheme below. The number in brackets refers to this scheme, the number 2 refers to the serial number which was given to the whole group



of these inscriptions; in cave 3.

2. (1). One line, 4m. long, angular, monumental deeply incised and professionally produced, 2nd/8th century script. (Pl. 7, Fig 3)

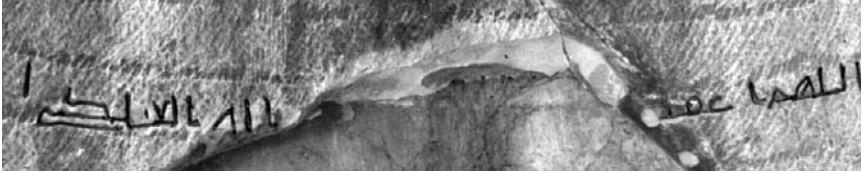


Pl. 7. Inscription in cave 3

اللهم اغفر لشمس ابن (!) كريم

O, Allah, forgive Shams b. Karīm

2. (2+3). At present two separate inscriptions, which originally formed one inscription consisting of one line, more than 5m. long. Present length, 2(2): 1.5m; 2(3):1.5m. (Pl. 8)



Pl. 8. Inscription 2+3 cave 3

2(2) اللهم اغفر 2(3).... [بن عبد] الله العنكي

O, Allah, forgive... b. ‘Abdallah al-‘Atakī

The *nisbah* al-‘Atakī appears in a few inscriptions in this cave complex. The reference is to the clan of ‘Atīk which belonged to the Azd confederation (Sam‘ānī, 4:153; Suyūṭī, *Lubb*, 176a; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 367f.).

2. (4). One word, 0.60m. (Fig. 3)

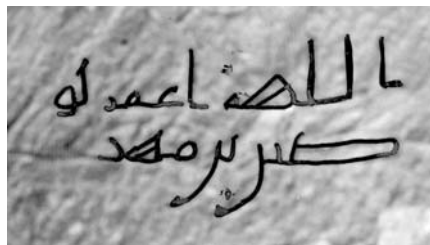
ألهم ...

O, Allah

2. (5). Part of one word. (Fig. 3)

الله....

2. (6). Two lines, angular monumental script, from the same period as above. (Pl. 9)

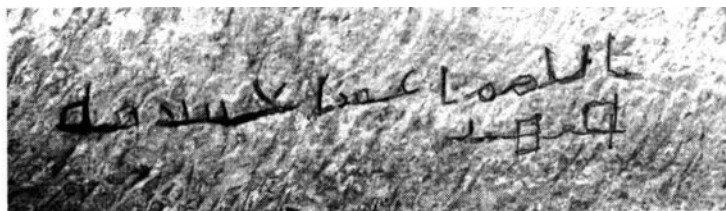


Pl. 9. Inscription 6 cave 3

١) اللهم اغفر لو ٢) ضين بن فهر

O, Allah, forgive Waḍīn b. Fīhr

2 (7). Two lines. Line 1: 2.00x0.05m. simple graffiti, very shallow primitive angular script. Early 2nd/8th Century. (Pl. 10)



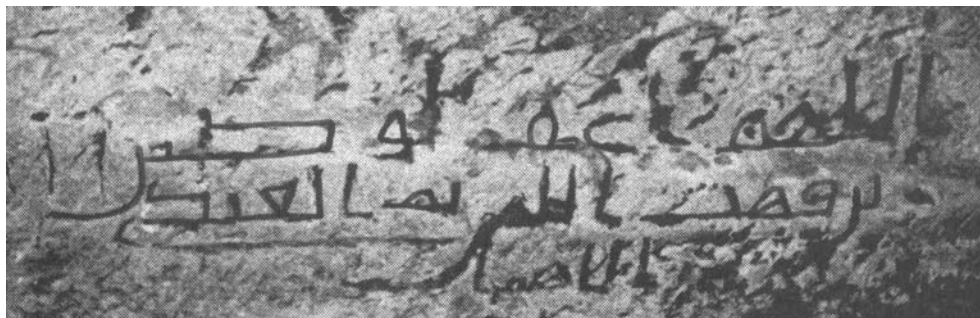
Pl. 10. Inscription 7 cave 3

١) اللهم اغفر أحسن نية ٢) فهر(؟؟)

O, Allah, forgive, make good Fīhr's intention

Line 2: one word, 0.60x0.05m. If my reading of line 1 is correct than this line with one word (فهر) continues line 1.

2 (8). 3 lines (line 3 independent), first line badly damaged; 2.50x0.60m. max. letters height 0.24m. Large angular letters in deep incision; early



2nd/8th century. (Pl. 11)

Pl. 11. Inscription 8 in cave 3

١) اللهم اغفر لوضين ا ٢) بن فهر الله م (؟) ثم العتكي ٣) اللهم ...

O, Allah, forgive Waḍīn b. Fīhr of the clan of 'Aṭūk. O, Allah...

Waḍīn b. Fihir appeared in a shorter, but similar inscription. (No. 2 (6) above) Here we have more information about him, he is from the clan of 'Atīk, a subdivision of the tribe of Azd. (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 367f.) 'Atīk is not an uncommon name in the context of Arab genealogy. Ibn al-Kalbī mentions several persons from the federation of Rabī'ah with this name: 'Atīk b. Aslam (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 2:340 (21)), 'Atīk b. Aws b. Tarīf (*Ibid.*, 342 (7)), 'Atīk from the Tribes of Bakr and Taghlib (*ibid.*, 292(3), 293(14)), 'Atīk b. at-Tayyihān b. Mālik from the Khazraj (*ibid.*, 392(3)). Of all these names, the only one which represents a real clan was the 'Atīk of the Azd. In a cave in Bayt Jibrīn (Jubrīn) there appears a person with the *nisbah* of al-Kindī and another one, which appears to be Khath'amī (Couroyer, 1964: 73-9). According to some traditions, Khath'am belonged to the "Northern" tribes, but according to other traditions Khath'am belonged to the Yaman tribes, and was a close relative of the Azd (*EI*, s.v. "Khath'am"). Parts of Khath'am settled in Palestine and the clan of 'Anz of Rabī'ah was always with them. (Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.* 193 (13-15) The traditions which speak about the close relations between Khath'am and the Yaman are not legendary; for our inscriptions affirm that shortly after the conquest, elements of 'Atīk, Kinda and Khath'am, and probably also some elements from Rabī'ah settled in the area around Bayt Jibrīn, Dayr Dubbān included. (Khath'am and Judhām are mentioned together on the occasion of the conquest of Caesarea. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142; 1956:168).

Another possible reading of the *nisbah* is al-'Abdī; this is if we assume that the last *yā'* is unattached to the previous letter. In such a case the letter before the *yā'* becomes *dāl* rather than *kaf*, and the tribe to which it refers would then be 'Abd al-Qays rather than 'Atīk. (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 1408/1988, 4:135)

3

Invocations and supplications

Early 2nd/8th c.

C. Cave 4

Eastern inner cave. On the south-western wall of the cave some 6m. above the floor, over a naturally smooth part of the rock, there is a group of inscriptions covering an area measuring 2.00x2.50m. Angular script, elaborate graffiti, in very shallow incision; early 2nd/8th century. The following reading follows the inscriptions from top to bottom, and from right to left when two inscriptions were incised next to each other. (Pl. 12)

(1) اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لثَوْبِ ابْنِ بَجَيْرٍ وَلِمَنْ قَرَأَ وَقَالَ آمِينَ
(2) تَرْحَمُ دَعَا عَالِي
يَعْلَى ابْنِ عَدِ
اللَّهُ

(3) تَرْحَمُ دَعَا عَالِي
عَدِ ابْنِ آمِيرِ
بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ
(4) تَرْحَمُ دَعَا
ثَوَابَهُ
(5) اللَّهُ وَلِيَّ ابْنِ عَدِ
(6) تَرْحَمُ دَعَا
عَدِ
بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ
بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ
(7) تَرْحَمُ دَعَا عَالِي

copied *in situ* by
M. Sharon 20.4.95

Pl. 12. 7 inscriptions in cave 4

- (3) 1. 1. اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لثَوْبِ (؟) ابْنِ (!) بَجَيْرٍ وَلِمَنْ قَرَأَ وَقَالَ آمِينَ
(3) 2. 1. تَرْحَمُ رَبِّي عَلَيَّ (2) يَعْلَى ابْنِ (!) عَبْدِ (3) اللَّهِ
(3) 3. 1. تَرْحَمُ رَبِّي عَلَيَّ (2) عَبْدُ الْأَمِيرِ (3) بِنِ (!) أَشْرَسِ
(3) 4. 1. تَرْحَمُ رَبِّي عَلَيَّ ثَوَابَةً
(3) 5. 1. اللَّهُ وَلِيَّ ابْنِ عَبْدِ (عِيدِ) ... (or) ...
(3) 6. 1. تَرْحَمُ رَبِّي (2) عَلَيَّ عِيدِ (3) بِنِ (!) شَمَيْطِ ابْنِ (!) (4) بَسِيطِ/نَشِيطِ
(3) 7. 1. (بَرٍّ مِنْ دَخَلَ فِي هَذَا الْ... (nothing more)

1. O, Allah, forgive Thawb b. Bujayr and whomever reads (this writing) and says "amen."
2. May Allah have compassion on Ya'la Ibn 'Abdallah.
3. May my Lord have compassion on 'Abd al-Amir b. Ashras.
4. May my Lord have compassion on Thawwabah.
5. Allah is the Support of Ibn 'Abd... (Ibn 'Id ?)
6. (Opposite No. 3) May my Lord have compassion on 'Id b. Shumayt b. Basit/Nashit.

7. Absolved is he who enters into this (cave ?).

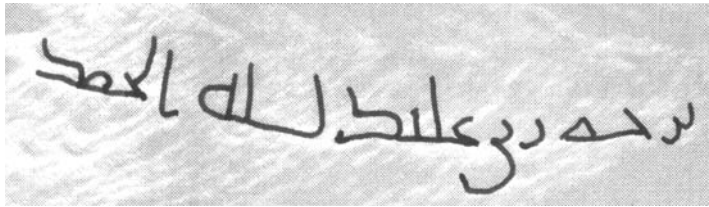
Inscription 1: The name Thawb is only one possibility. It can also be Thuwab as well as Yūb and even (with less probability) Thawr, Būr and Nūr. All these names are known from literature. (Ibn Mākūlā, 1:565ff.) The name Bujayr was also chosen from a list of a few possible names: Bujayr, Bajīr, Buḥayr, Baḥīr and Buḥtur (*Ibid.*, 1:191)

4

Invocation

Early 2nd/8th c.

Same cave, above the previous group of inscriptions, some 7m. above the present ground-level, and near the upper round opening in the ceiling of the cave, partly damaged inscription, one line, angular script, deeply incised in very good hand. (Pl. 13)



Pl. 13. Inscription 4 in cave 4

ترحم ري عليك الله الحمد

May my Lord have mercy on thee. Praise to Allah.

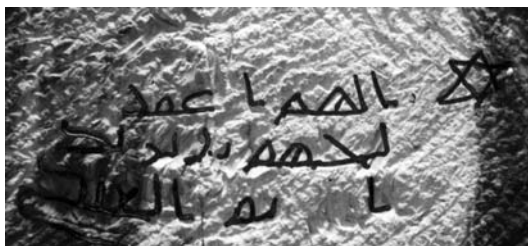
The position of the inscription makes its reading very difficult. However in *situ* and with the help of a photograph taken almost in darkness I was able to prepare this copy which is an accurate reproduction of the inscription.

5

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

Same cave, eastern-southeastern side, 1.5m. above the ground, 1.0x0.70m. 3 lines, early 8th century angular script in good hand; very deep incision, partly damaged. On the right, a crude six pointed star (Pl. 14)



Pl. 14. Inscription in cave 4

١) اللهم اغفر ٢) لهم بن يزيد ٣) ا[...ـ] ثم العتي

O, Allah, forgive Jahm b. Yazīd al- ... from the clan of ‘Atīk...

(See notes to 2(8) above).

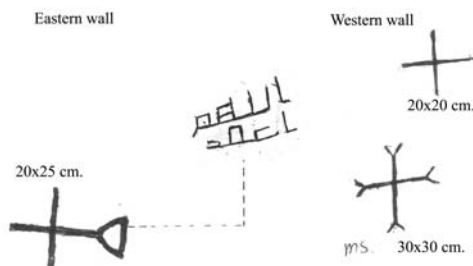
6

Invocation fragments

c 2nd/8th c.

D. Cave 5: “Columbarium”

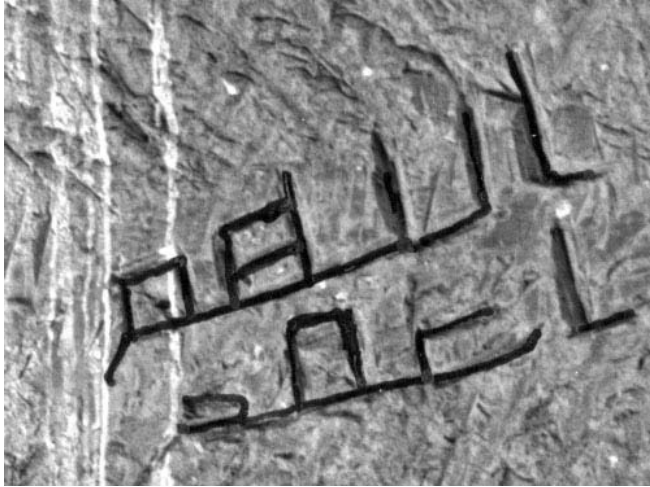
A large cave with a huge and very imposing monolith protruding from its south-western wall giving the impression as (Guérin thought) that it was left there by the diggers for some specific reason. The walls of the cave are pierced by rows of small niches arranged in exact order, which could have been used for dove farming, and from which the cave received its popular name. (Figs. P6, P7, P8) A few “Greek crosses,” some of which could be defined as “budded” because of the leaves or buds at the end of their arms, were engraved on the walls attesting to the presence of Christians in the site. The crosses and the Greek inscriptions in the other caves may belong to the late Byzantine period. It is very difficult to know the time in which the niches were dug into the walls, but they add to the strong impression that the area was well inhabited and economically active.



Crosses on the eastern and western walls of the Columbarium cave (sketched in situ)

Two Arabic inscriptions, engraved on the eastern wall of the cave:

The first, 7m. above the present ground surface, 0.45x0.25m. Two words in 2 lines, stylized angular script, deeply incised; large letters (max. height 0.10m). The second, about 6m. above ground surface, 0.50x0.30. 3 lines, medium size (0.05m. max.) letters, incised. Both inscriptions may be dated to the late 2nd/8th century. (Pls. 15, 16)



Pl. 15. Inscription 1 in Columbarium

(1) (١) اللهم (٢) اغفر

O, Allah forgive...



Pl. 16. Inscription 2 in Columbarium

(2) (١) اللهم (٢) اغفر لكارم (٣) ابن جرم امين

O, Allah, forgive Karīm b. Jarm, amen.

On the name Jarm, or even Jārim, see Ibn Durayd, 1958: 190-91. There are also other possibilities to read this name such as: Jarum, Ḥazm, Ḥaram, and Hurum. (Ibn Mākūlā, 2:447ff.)

Conclusions

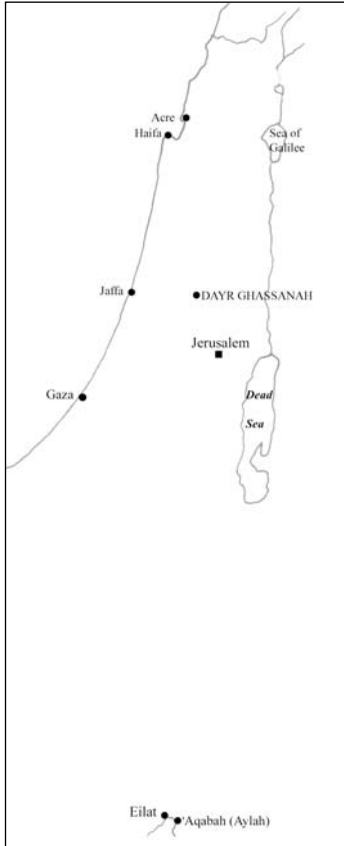
The formulae of supplication in these inscriptions is very common, and is found on a great number of inscriptions all over the Middle East (Donner, 1984; Sharon, 1990; Hoyland 1997, and references). The invocation “*allahumma*” was prevalent among the Arabs both before and after Islam (Kister 1980:33-57; cf. especially Q, 10:10). The combination *allahuma ighfir* is not Qur’ānic, but the verb *ighfir*, especially with *rabb*, as Lord in direct relation to forgiveness of sins, appears seventeen times in the Qur’ān.

The invocation *allahuma ighfir* was a personal prayer, which a person could pray for himself or for somebody else. In a tradition quoted by Qurṭubī in his *Tafsīr* it is said that the Prophet “watched a man (praying) between the corner (of the Ka’bah) and the *Maqām* (of Abraham) or between the door (of the sanctuary) and the *maqām* saying: **اَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِفُلَان**. The Prophet said to him: ‘what is this?’ The man said: “a person authorized me to invoke God for him in this holy place” (*maqām*). The Prophet then said: “go back, for thy friend has been forgiven.” (Qurṭubī, 2:113 on Q, 2:125).

The evidence regarding the identity of the Arab inhabitants in the area as can be gleaned from the inscriptions is probably the most important historical contribution of these simple texts. The reports in the literary sources speak about the tribe of Judhām as the major Arab tribe that inhabited the area of Bayt Jibrīn and its surroundings (which comprise Dayr Dubbān). In this area ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣ had an estate called ‘Ajlān. The Umayyad family also had estates there with peasants (*akarah*) who were regarded as part of the estates’ household (Lecker, 1989:32f). In addition to the Judhām, who were, no doubt, the strongest, and probably the most influential tribe in Palestine (or rather *Jund Filastīn* (Hasson, 1993:96f. references there, and note 8; cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135, 142), we learn from the inscriptions that at least individuals from ‘Atīk and from Kinda also settled in the area that was very fertile, and well protected. Through this area also passed one of the most important routes that connected the coastal plain, and the eastern parts of Palestine, notably Jerusalem, Ashqelon and Gaza (Lecker, 1989:31). At the end of the 2nd/9th century and the beginning of the 3rd/10th, some of the estates were still inhabited by the descendants of their original owners, a fact that reflects the secure stability, as well as the economic viability of the area, in spite of the change of dynasties, which occurred in the middle of the 8th century.

DAYR GHASSĀNAH

Is. Gr. 159 161 (N. Is. Gr. 209-661)



A large village (colloq. *Deir (dēr) Gassāneh*), in the district of Rāmallah to the north of Jerusalem, and about 34km. to the east of Jaffa as the crow flies. It is built on a hill some 450m. above sea level surrounded by olive groves, overlooking Wādī Šarīdah which meanders about one kilometer to its north. Abel noted that the Arab name of this valley preserved the name of the ancient Israelite town Šerēdah, the hometown of Jeroboam (1Kings 11:26). He therefore identified Dayr Ghassānah as the site of ancient Šerēdah, and suggested that it received its name from the Christian Ghassānids who resettled the site after its abandonment (Abel, 2:457 and references there; Aharoni, 1987:102). There is no proof for this suggestion, which relies only on phonetic similarity. It is rather doubtful whether the Ghassānids, whose territories bordered on the desert on the eastern side of the Jordan and central Syria, settled in Samaria. (Cf. Kennedy, 1985:167 and n.74) The word *ghassānī*, (derived from the root *gh-s-n*) means “a very handsome person” (*Lisān*, 13:313a), and related words speak of youth and beauty. It is not far fetched to

suggest that the name of the village has to do with these meanings of the word rather than with a lady from the pre-Islamic desert kingdom.

The place has no mention in Arabic literature in spite of its being well inhabited during the Mamlūk period as can be seen from the many houses there which preserved ample elements of Mamlūk architecture, including the famous *ablaq* decorative technique of alternating stones of different colours used in the facades and gates. Guérin, *Samarie*, 2:150; Ettinghausen-Grabar, 1987:312) Guérin particularly noted the houses of the village “built with red and white stones,” and the well-built mosque with alternating layers of black and white stones. The *shaykh* of the village had a sort of suzerainty over a

dozen neighbouring hamlets. (Guérin, *ibid.*) The *Survey* merely states that it is “a village on a ridge, with springs in the valley below. It is of moderate size, built of stone and has olives beneath it.” (*SWP*, 2:290)

The IAA (PAM) report of January 1947 mentions that “the present village is built on a medieval site,” and similar to Guérin emphasizes that “some of the village houses are large and well built, and have large arched entrances flanked with *maṣṭabahs* or stone seats. One of these houses contained an inscribed stone dated 1279 A.H. On a hill about 500m. west of the village are two domes known as al-Walī al-Khawassī (!)” (Husseini, IAA (PAM) file “Deir Ghassana”), which Guérin referred to as “Shaykh Kawās.” (Guérin, *ibid.*)

1

Construction text

1160/1747

A slab of limestone, (?) 0.75x0.24m. 2+3 lines, late Ottoman *naskh̄*, in relief. Publication: Initial reading by Husseini, IAA (PAM) files: *Deir Ghassana*. Report No. 474, inscription No. 99. No other record, and no photograph. The following edition is based entirely on Husseini’s reading

Right:

(١) لا اله الا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله

Left:

(٢) عمارت الشيخ ضامر (٢) جد [د] [ال-] دار المباركة (٣) سنة الف مية (!) وستون (!)

There is no God but Allah. Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. The construction of the Shaykh Dāmīr. He renewed the blessed house in the year 1160 (=1747).

In the files of *Deir Ghassana* the IAA (PAM) there is a report dated 7.10.1947 (ATQ/44) which mentions “ancient sites demarcated by D.C. Baramki for the District Survey officer: 1. House of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (Barghūtī) 2. Dar Fa‘ur 3. Dar Dahir 4. Dar el Ashwa (!) 5. Dar Rabah (now al-Atrash).” I suspect, since there is no other evidence, that the word which Husseini read *Dāmīr* in line 1, should read *Dāhir*, from whose house the inscription was copied.

Dār ash-Shaykh Rabāḥ: the gate

A monumental gate of medieval origin leading into a private home in the

old quarter, locally known by the name of Dār ash-Shaykh Rabāḥ. (Fig. P9) The gate complex has two arches. The outer one is a slightly pointed arch. A wall built inside, forming a recess or a flat niche about 0.60m. deep in which another gate was opened. This second gate has a simple flat arch, about 1m. lower than the main gate. On both sides of the recess there are stone benches, or *maṣṭabahs*, occupying the rectangular space created between the two posts of the main gate and the wall of the second one. The stones, used for the construction of the monumental main gate, and the outside wall, are massive, and well hewn.

2

Construction text

15 Rabī' I, 1221/2 June 1806

A slab of marble (or limestone), 0.32x0.23m. built into the wall to the left side of the arch some 2m. above the present ground level. 5 lines late Ottoman, provincial script; in relief; with narrow dividing bands also in relief, points and vowels (Fig.4) The seemingly incised appearance is a vision illusion. Move the photograph around until the true inscription appears. Publication: Initial reading by Husseini, IAA (PAM) files, *Deir Ghassana*. Report No. 474. Inscription No. 98. The inscription was re-examined and photographed in November 1996.

١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ (!) الرَّحِيمِ سنة ١٢٢١ (٢) شرع بالبناء واتا (!) بها (!) عيسى وزان
عتابها (!) (٣) يا رب اديم (!) لسعدہ بلمصطفى (!) وصحابها (!) (٤) بأوّل ربيع بنصفه يوم
الثلاث (!) بنا بها (٥) وفي واحد وعشرين والـف ميتين (!) صح حسابها

Basmalah. The year 1221 (=1806). Has begun the building and accomplished it 'Īsā, and he adorned its thresholds. O Lord, perpetuate his happiness (or good fortune) by the Muṣṭafā and its owners. In the middle of (the month) Rabī' I, on Tuesday, he built in it (or he entered to live in it?); and in (the year) twenty-one and thousand (and) two hundred, its calculation is the true calculation (of the date)

The language of this provincial inscription is a mixture of colloquial and literary Arabic. The writer, presumably a local "poet," made a great effort to compose four rhyming lines, using as much knowledge of Arabic as he could master. The result is sometimes obscure for the reader who is unfamiliar with the persons mentioned in the inscription. The inscription was painted or whitewashed in the past, rendering it difficult to read in a few places, and the extensive usage of the colloquial language adds to the complication of

the issue. This reading is a fresh one, completing and correcting Husseini's initial reading from 1947.

L.1: The insertion of the date in digits immediately after the *basmalah* is rather unusual in early Ottoman inscriptions but not unfamiliar from later ones.

L.2: Husseini: ... اليها؟—My reading *بالبناء شرع* is sure. The letter 'ayn was engraved inside the *ra'*. Husseini: وأتأبها read: وأتأبها. The writer made an attempt to use classical Arabic in order to say that 'Īsā, the builder of the house, was engaged in its construction from beginning to end. He began (*shara'a*) with the building, and finished it (*atā bihā*) embellishing its threshold. The verbal and pronominal feminine suffix—*hā* which appears throughout the inscription, and which has been translated by "it," refers most probably to the *dār*, the building or the repair of which was commemorated by this inscription, although grammatically it should have followed the noun *binā'*. I am, however, not happy with the translation or the interpretation. The verb *atā* coming with the preposition *bi* means, "to bring." *atā 'alā* is more appropriate for "completing." But the reading is sure. The verb *atāba*, suggested by Husseini, has a meaning which does not fit here by any stretch of imagination. (*Lisān s.v.*) There is also the possibility that the writer meant "entered into it," or "occupied it," i.e. the *dār*. All these suggestions have no real basis in standard Arabic. Unless a better idea is suggested, the translation above at least fits into the general meaning of the inscription.

The expression *zāna 'itābahā* (or *'atābahā*) contains an unusual plural of *'atabah*, doorsill or threshold (the usual plural being *'atab*, *a'tāb* and *'atabāt*). It seems that the phrase indicates that the builder accomplished his project from top to bottom, down to the doorsill.

L.3: لمصطفى لسعده Husseini: لمصطفى. Husseini: بمصطفى My reading is sure: بمصطفى. (*sic!* instead of بالمصطفى). The word is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the spelling mistake is unusual although there are such occurrences (the omission of the *alef* of the article) in Christian- as well as Judaeo-Arabic (Blau 1966-7:127 l.4; 1980, §32). The line is not entirely clear, although the reading is sure. It would have made more sense if instead of واصحابه the word were وصحبه or واصحابه. The sentence could then be translated "O Lord perpetuate his good fortune in (or by the blessing of) the Prophet and his companions." (This could well have been the original idea, but the language is colloquial, and the word *shāb* is the plural of *shāhib*.) The imperative *adīm* instead of *adim* (short *i*) represents a common mistake. It is also possible that the line has nothing to do with the prophet and simply

invokes Allah to perpetuate the good fortune of the builder Muṣṭafā (the owner?) and the other members of the family who live in the *dār*. (*ṣhāb ad-dār* in colloquial Arabic mean the owners of the mansion).

L.4: The date was broken in order to enable the rhyming of the last two lines. The mistake of *yawm ath-thalāth* instead of *yawm ath-thulāthā* represents local colloquial usage.

L.5: Note: *wāḥid* instead of *aḥad*, and *mīṭayn* instead of *mī'atayn* are also widespread mistakes influenced by the vernacular dialect. The date, Tuesday, 15 Rabī' I 1221 corresponds to Saturday, June 2, 1806.

Sarāyā ash-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūṭī

Among the large houses in the village there is a mansion of medieval origin, locally known by the name of Sarāyā ash-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Barghūṭī (see above No. 1). Over the gate of one of the inner rooms there is an inscription, which was spotted by Husseini in February 1947. The inscription was re-examined and photographed in 1996. The word *sarāyā* (or *sarāyah*) denotes a palace or a castle, as well as the government house (in modern times). The word *sārāyā*, used here to describe Barghūṭī's house, conforms to its castle-like nature.

3

Construction text

1279/1862-3

A slab of limestone, 0.49x0.29m. built into the wall 2.5m. above ground level and 0.47m. above the gate. 6 lines, modern provincial *naskhī*, in relief; points, no vowels. Publication: First reading, Husseini, IAA (PAM) files: *Deir Ghassāna*. Report No. 474; Inscription No. 97. The following reading is fresh. (Fig.5)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذه عمارة الشيخ (٢) صالح بها الشأن مرفوع على كل من
سما ومنها (٣) سحاب الجود بالخير قد هما وعن مجد (٤) صاحبها تحدث لانه غنا كل محتاج
ومن (٥) فيه الظما به شرفت شمس العناية مذ نشا (٦) وقد صح في التاريخ حصن آت (؟)
مغنا (٧) سنة ١٢٧٩

Basmalah. This is the building of the Shaykh Ṣāliḥ. In it the dignity is raised above anyone who rose high, and from it the cloud of generosity poured benevolence, and recounted the nobility of its owner; for he made free from want every needy person, and every thirsty one. The sun of kindness has risen in it from the time that it was

established, and the correct date is: a castle! Bring a treasured prize! (or, You are a treasured prize.) The year 1279(=1862-3).

The style of the inscription is that of a rhyming prose, *saġ*, with the syllable *mā* repeated in uneven intervals (*samā*, *hamā*, *ḡamā*, *maghnamā*).

L.2: *ash-sha'n*. Husseini: *ath-thān* (?). The word is used here to denote, in general, the idea of honour, dignity, generosity and similar forms of noble virtues although normally it has a neutral character, but with a broad scope of meaning such as, affair, matter, circumstance, quality, character, but also importance, standing, prestige. (Cf. *Lisān*, 13:230-1).

L.4: غنا *sic!* (and in colloquial Arabic). The writer meant *aghṇā*: to cause somebody to be rich, to free a person from need.

Shaykh Ṣāliḥ, the owner of the mansion was Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Barghūṭī. The Barghūṭī family was very influential, and supplied the *shaykhs* of the traditional rural *nāḥiyah* (subdistrict) of Banū Zayd in the Rāmallah district. The fact that the local inhabitants call the manor of Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūṭī *sarāyā* to this very day, is yet another indication for the ruling position held by the family. Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūṭī was the shaykh of this *nāḥiyah* in the second half of the 19th century, and when Guérin referred in 1863 and 1870 to the shaykh of Dayr Ghassānah as having suzerainty over 15 hamlets and villages in the area, he no doubt meant him.

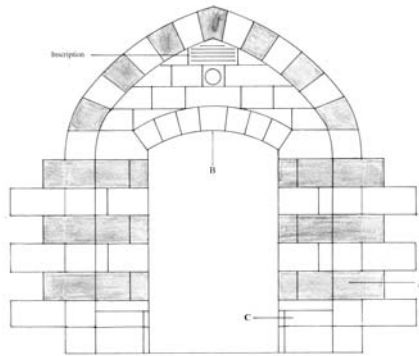
Ṣāliḥ's position was inherited by his son 'Umar Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūṭī, who emerged as one of the important personalities in Arab Palestinian politics of the early 1920's and 30's. In the competition between the two leading families of the Palestinian Arabs, the Ḥusaynīs and the Nashāshībīs, he supported the latter, who in general represented the moderate opposition on the political scene. In November 1923, he was among the leading politicians who joined the Nashāshībīs in establishing a new party, which was to oppose the Arab Executive Committee of Mūsā Kāẓim al-Ḥusaynī. They called their party "The Patriotic Arab Palestinian Party" (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-'Arabī al-Falaṣṭīnī*) (Porat, 1976:54. 177, 181. More on him and his political activity in the 1930's, *idem*. 1978: 72-73, 82, 94-95)

L.6: *āti*. The date of the inscription 1279, indicated in digits, hides behind the combination of the letters of the words *ḥiṣn āti maghnamā*—when only the words *ḥiṣn* (148) and *maghnamā* (1131) should be taken into consideration in the calculation. I am not sure about the reading of *āti* it can also be *anta*. In both cases the *alif* is on top of the *tā*. For the moment I have no better suggestions.

Note: The name al-Barghūṭī was transliterated according to its colloquial pronunciation. The literary form is *Burghūthī*, which nobody uses.

Sarāyā ash-Shaykh Ṣālīḥ al-Barghūtī, the main gate of the complex

The gate has a structure of two arches one inside the other, similar to that of Dār ash-Shaykh Rabāḥ, and other gates in this and similar manor houses all over the country. This gate is particularly monumental. The first main gate has a pointed arch, with one keystone; it was built in *ablaq* style with alternating black and white ashlar, from the floor-level upwards. Inside this gate, some 0.60m. from the front, the wide opening is blocked by a wall in which a second gate was opened, with a simple flat arch with one keystone. The whole gate structure forms one architectural unit, the first gate serving more as a monumental element aiming to express an idea of power and wealth. The recess, or flat niche, created by this gate complex was used for the building of two traditional stone benches, or *maṣṭabahs*, which fit into the rectangular space between the posts of the first gate and the wall of the second gate. (Fig. P10; Pl. 17)



Pl. 17. Main gate. A: Main gate opening with pointed arch.
B: Second opening with simple arch with inscription in the tympanum. C: *Maṣṭabah*

The stone with the inscription was built into the tympanum, in the recess over the simple arch of the inner gate. A wooden door decorated with carved squares, which seem to belong to the same time of the building, fits the gate. This large and heavy door is opened only for the passage of large loads and vehicles. In the middle of it there is another smaller, window-like door (colloq. *khūkhah*), for the passage of pedestrians.

4

Construction text

1278(?)/1861-2

A slab of marble 0.54x0.27m. fixed at the top of the tympanum, of the inner gate right underneath the pointed arch. 6 lines, simple provincial Ottoman

naskhī; points, no vowels, in relief. Publication: Initial reading by Husseini, in February 1947. IAA Report No. 474. Inscription No. 100. The inscription re-examined and photographed in November 1996. (Fig.6) The following reading is a fresh one, based on this recent re-examination of the inscription. However, events beyond my control since the early 1990s prevented me from visiting Dayr Ghassānah (and many other places in the country) safely. My student Omar Badrieh snapped all the photographs of the inscriptions, which I used to prepare in this entry, in haste, and with a simple camera.

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) أَلَا أَيُّهَا (!) الدَّارُ الَّتِي زَانَكَ الثَّنَا وَأُضْحَى نَهَارَكَ مَشْرِق (!)
 بِالْمَوَاهِبِ (٣) فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي أَسَّسَ بُنَاكِي (!) عَلَى التَّقْيِ فَقَالَتْ بِنَايُ طَاهِرِ الشَّيْخِ صَاحِبِ
 (٤) فَقُلْتُ بِمَا كَانَ يَحْكِي لِي خَبْرِي فَقَالَتْ بَدَارُ ضَابَّةٍ وَهُوَ رَاطِبِ (٥) وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ عِمَارَةِ
 هَذِهِ الْعِمَارَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ فِي شَهْرِ جُمَادِ (!) (٦) [الاولى؟ من شهراً سنة ثمان؟] وسبعين؟
 ومائتين؟] وألف

Basmalah.

O, thou the house that has been embellished by praise,
 and on you the day dawns full of virtues:

Who is he who founded thy building on piety?

It said: "A pure man (*tāhir*) built me, my owner, the *shaykh*."

I said: "Inform me, of what was he speaking about (in the course of building you)?"

It said: "about a protective dwelling (that I am) while he (himself) is established in (it)."

The construction of this blessed building was accomplished in the month of Jumādā [I (?)] of the months of the year 1280(?) (=1863-4?)

The inscription is a poem in a *ṭawīl* meter with a rhyming syllable *bi*. In order to achieve the rhyme, the writer neglected grammatical accuracy in lines 3 and 4, where the short *bi* was used instead of the long *bī*. For this reason the word *وَهُوَ* in line 4 is vowelled in this manner.

The style of the poem is of a dialogue between the poet and the mansion, which the poem praises. The poet asks and the house answers.

L.2: The poet addresses the house, which he eulogizes as adorned with praise and virtue. The word *mawāhib* (sing. *mawhibah*) means a gift, something granted, but it could be here understood in the general sense of virtue, praiseworthy characteristic. (note *mushriq* instead of *mushriqan*).

L.3: The poet wants to know who founded the house "on piety," alluding to the Qur'ānic verse (Q, 9:109), and the house answers that it was actually built by a pure person, the Shaykh, who is "my owner (*ṣāhibī*). As noted, the word *ṣāhibī* should have been written with a long *ī* (*ṣāhibī*). The vowel was shortened to fit the rhyme.

The Shaykh here could be the same Shaykh Ṣaliḥ al-Barghūṭī, but he could easily be his father ‘Abd al-Jabbār (see below line 6).

Note the play on the word *banānī* in this line. On the one hand this is a verb which means “he built me.” But *banān* means fingertips, and therefore the combination of *banānī ṭāhīr* means also my fingertips are pure, namely the hand that built me is pure and at the same time “he who built me is pure.”

L.4: This is a difficult line. The reading is doubtful in a few places although on first sight the writing looks quite clear. *bima kāna yaḥkī lī khabbīrī*—Husseini has only *bimā t...*

bi-dār—not in Husseini.

rāzib—there is no such Arabic word. It seems to me very possible that this is a common spelling mistake: a replacement of *zāy* (ز) by *zā’* (ظ). Because of the influence of the letter *rā’* on the soft *s* and *z* that follow or precede it, they are usually pronounced as heavy letters. Such is the case for instance with the word *sūr* (a wall) which is pronounced, and even sometimes written, with a *sād*—*ṣūr*. In this case, since the verb *raḥaba* in any case does not exist, the word here could therefore be *rāzib*, which exists in the Arabic dictionaries. The meaning of the verb *raḥaba* is “to be fixed or stuck to a place” and therefore to be well established in it, which fits well with the rest of the poem.

This is how the poem can be explained:

Praising the house for being laudable, and full of daily-renewed virtues, the poet now turns to it directly asking it about its builder, to which the house answers that he is its owner and a pure man. Now the poet wants to know what were the intentions of the builder, what was he “recounting” while the house was being built. To this the house answers that he was speaking about an all-embracing house “while he was firmly established in me.” The verb *ḍabba* is very common in the colloquial usage and later Arabic; it means to collect, to give refuge, to bring together under one shelter. This meaning also fits well into the poem.

Ll.5-6: These lines, containing the date of the building, are very damaged but can somehow be reconstructed. The month Jumādā is written *Jumād*, but the missing long vowel *ā* could have been lost in the broken part of L.6.

Husseini: *al-‘ulā*, although the word today is hardly visible. From the date Husseini could read *wa-alf*. I can see the great part of *mī atāyn* and probably signs of *thamān* or *thamānīn*, but here the damage is too intense to offer sure reading. The inscription could be from the same date of No. 3, namely

around 1279. The *naskhī* style of the writing reminds more the inscription of 1221 (No.2), although the present inscription seems more elaborate, with full diacritical points. If the inscription represents an earlier stage of the building, the “pure” shaykh could be Šālih’s father, or some other shaykh by the name of Ṭāhir, if this word in l.3 is a name of a person.

5

Construction text

1275/1858-9-(?)

Sarāyā ash-Shaykh Šālih al-Barghūtī. The inner side of the entrance to the second floor. A slab of limestone 0.46x0.29m. 7 lines provincial Ottoman *naskhī*; points, no vowels, in relief. The inscription is a poem with two hemistiches in each line divided by a vertical band in relief, (Figs. P11, P11a) and is set in a narrow frame, engraved in relief as well. The writing is crowded. Only the first line could be deciphered with some certainty. Unfortunately, I possess only a very bad photograph of the inscription. (Fig.7) The circumstances in the years 1999-2003 prevented me from reaching the village and examining the inscription in *situ*. The task will have to be left for some other time in the future. As it stands, this photograph of the inscription resist any meaningful reading except for a few words here and there which do not add up to an intelligible text. The following reading is the maximum that I can do at the moment.

بدير غسانة المجد قد بان(?)	١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
إذ شاد فيها من.....(?)	٢) محاسنه.....(?)
الصالح الجاه(?) الشاد(?) في بدر(?)	٣) في ساداتها ما ملأ جوداً(?)
	٤).....(?)
	٥).....(?)
يستنصره	٦).... وهم(?) مشيراً...
الشيخ صالح يا حفظ(?)	٧) كأنهم الحاج(?) ...

The few words that I can see do not permit any meaningful translation. The name of Shaykh Šālih, which appears in l.7, and probably also in l.3, connects this inscription with the name of Shaykh Šālih al-Barghūtī as well. The date should not be too far from 1280/1863-4.

6

Shahādah

The following inscription of the *Basmalah* and the *Shahādah* appears in the *Deir Ghassāna* file of the IAA (PAM). Report No. 474, inscription No. 101. (First read by Husseini). No identifying details, except for the size of stones and number of lines. 0.23x0.20m. 5 lines.

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ (٢) الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٣) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٤) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

Basmalah. There is no god but Allah. Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah.

Addendum

to Dayr Ghassānah

7

Construction text

731/1330-31

The photograph of the following inscription was found in the files of Dayr Ghassānah, and for the reasons mentioned above I could not verify the site.

A slab of marble 0.36x0.56m. (approx) imbedded in the wall. 4 lines, divided by bands; monumental Mamlūk *naskhī* in relief. No points, and no vowels. In the middle of the first line, (Fig. 8) between the *basmalah* and the rest of the line, there is a medallion with at least two lines, but the present photograph does not permit accurate reading. Based on similar medallions I can guess that this one also contains something along the lines of *‘Izz li-mawlānā al-Malik an-Nāṣir*—Glory to our Lord al-Malik an-Nāṣir (cf. CIA, *Jérusalem*, “Villè” 1, No 76; RCEA, 14:148, No. 5427 from the year 720/1321). With great effort the whole inscription on the medallion can also read عز لمولانا السلطان. The last word can be the one at the top of the medallion. (Mayer, *Heraldry*, 1933:35)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ○ أنشئ هذا المكان السعيد [؟...] (٢) وعلوه والبستان المجاور له في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر (٣) خلد الله سلطانه على يد العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى شرف الدين عيسى بن محمد (٤) القيمري أعزه الله شاد الخاص والأوقاف الشريفة سنة أحد (!) وثلاثين وسبع مئة

Basmallah. (Medallion) This felicitous place including its upper story and the garden adjacent to it was established in the time of our lord the sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may Allah perpetuate his reign by the (humble) servant in need of Allah—may He be exalted—Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Qaymarī—May Allah strengthen him—the inspector of the sultan’s personal property and the noble religious endowments in the year 731 (=1330-31)

L.1: Above the word *as-saʿīd* there are letters at the damaged corner. The context demands a word, which describes a part of the building other than its upper floor (*cf.* CIA, *Jérusalem*, “Villē” 1, Nos. 63, 70), but the existing state of the photograph does not bring to my mind any good suggestion.

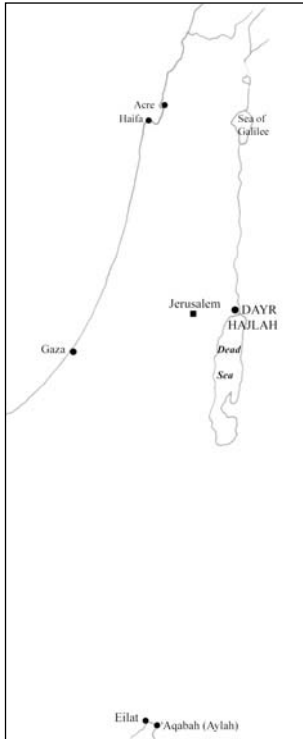
L.3-4: I could not find anything about the person in charge of establishing the “felicitous place.” From the details mentioned, the two-story building and the fruit-tree garden (*bustān*), it seems to me that the inscription probably indicates an establishment of a religious endowment (*waqf*). ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad, the person in charge of the project is a *waqf* inspector, most probably attached to the office of the chief overseer of the *waqf* in Damascus, a fact which strengthens the hypothesis of a *waqf* enterprise.

Judging by his name, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Qaymarī (*nisbah* to Qaymar, a fortress near Mawṣil, Suyūṭi, *lubb*, 1840:216), was not a Mamlūk, or at least not a first generation Mamlūk. However, the double position, which he held, belonged to officers of the military class (*arbāb as-suyūf*) not to the civilian administrators (*arbāb al-qalam*). *Shādd al-khāṣṣ* was a position of an amīr of ten or *amīr ṭablkhānāh*. This position was connected with the establishment of a special ministry—*diwān al-khāṣṣ*—introduced by an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāʿūn, mentioned in this inscription, “following his abolishment of the wazirate” (*hīna abtala al-wizārah*. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* 3:452). The office was in charge of the personal assets of the sultan, and the officer in charge held the title of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, who had lesser subordinate officers such as those who bore the title of *shādd al-khāṣṣ*, the inspectors of the private assets in both Egypt and the Syrian provinces. (*Ibid.*, 4:30,187). The position of *shādd al-awqāf*, the inspector of the religious endowments, also belonged to a military officer, amir of ten or *ṭablkhānāh* (*Ibid.*, 186-187). In this case Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿĪsā held both positions. The inscription dates from the third reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709/1309—741/1340) having consolidated his administrative reforms.

I placed this inscription as an addendum because I am not sure about its origin. As the work on this *Corpus* proceeds and conditions for safe fieldwork improve, I hope to be able to pinpoint the inscription to its site.

DAYR ḤAJLAH—(QAṢR ḤAJLAH) (Beth Ḥoglah)

Is. Gr.197 136 (N. Is Gr. 247 635)
and ʿEIN ḤAJLAH



The site of an ancient and medieval village situated some 7-8 km. to the north of the Dead Sea. The Arabic names of the place, *Qaṣr Ḥajlah* or *Dayr Ḥajlah*, preserve, as in numerous places in Palestine, the ancient name *Beith Ḥoglah* of the Book of Joshua. (Joshua 15:6; 18:19; *SWP*, 3:173) *Beth Ḥoglah* (in Latin: *Beth-Hagla*, *Bethagla*. Guérin, *Samarie*, 1:52ff) is mentioned there as a town, which belonged to the tribe of Benjamin on the border between this tribe and the tribe of Judah.

It is famous because of the large monastery built in it, one of a few monasteries built in the Judean desert to commemorate major events in the History of Christianity: the Baptism of Christ and the Temptation (*q.v.* “*Dayr al-Qalt*” below, and *SWP*, 3:201-205). The present monastery named by the Greek Monks after St. Gerasimus was built in 1882, but it is locally known as *Qaṣr Ḥajlah* as well as *Dayr (Deir) Ḥajlah*. (Fig. P11b).

The name *Qaṣr Ḥajlah* belonged already to the medieval monastery that was encircled by a wall with towers, and therefore worthy of being called *Qaṣr*, an appellation reserved in Arabic for fortresses or large buildings of good masonry. (*Lisān*, 5:100a)

Indeed the medieval writers who describe the monastery, and the 19th century scholars who visited the place, shortly before and after its restoration, speak about a massive wall that protected the major chapel and the building adjacent to it. Only very little of the remains of the ancient monastery were preserved in the structure examined and described, around the 1870s, by the *SWP*, Guérin, and others. Recently the IAA carried out a detailed survey of *Dayr Ḥajlah*, and excavations in the nearby ʿEin Ḥajlah about 1 km. to the north, where the Monastery named after St. Calamon stood (and renewed

in the 19th century) next to a copious spring (hence the name) amid a date palm grove. Extensive remnants of the ancient sites were found and identified. (Hirschfeld, 2002:108-110)

Guérin rejected the reports of the medieval pilgrims who attributed the monastery of Dayr Hajlah to St. Jerome, pointing out that according to the saint's own testimony he could not have retired to this part of the desert for solitude. Guérin also explained that the monastery could have been that of St. Gerasimus. This saint settled in the area in 455, and is said to have established there a great Laura (λαύραν ἐκεῖσε μεγίστην) for seventy hermits at the midst of which was a "magnificent monastery (κοινόβιον)" that was, as it was customary, the heart of the Laura. (*ibid.*) However, according to a report by the monk Phocas from 1185, the overflowing of the Jordan destroyed this monastery. Since Dayr Hajlah is more than 3km. away from the Jordan, it seems impossible that it can be the same monastery of Gerasimus. (Guérin, *loc.cit.* quoting PG. CXX. Col 269, and PG. CXXXIII, col. 952) According to another report the monastery of St. Gerasimus was destroyed by the Persians when they conquered the country in 614. (*Cf.* Hoade, 1984:493) That St. Gerasimus settled in the area is therefore an established fact, and the Laura bearing his name was founded in the second half of the 5th century. The present Dayr Hajlah stands almost on the site of this Laura, not far from the Laura of St. Calamon to its north.

St. Gerasimos monastery flourished in the Byzantine period like all the monasteries of the Judean desert, and continued to exist until the 11th century, passing through many stages of restoration. The researchers of the SWP found the place in ruins, but there were enough remains of the main chapel, which enabled them to prepare its plan and that of the area surrounding it. There were still many visible frescoes representing Jesus, the Twelve Apostles, the Virgin, and other saints, similar to those of Dayr al-Qalt (*q.v.*) and of the chapels in Qarantal. (Mount Quarantine. SWP, 3:201-204). The figures of saints and angels in the frescoes were accompanied by Greek inscriptions usually written on both sides of the nimbus encircling the saint's head. The similarities in the script and formulae used in these inscriptions prove that they were written in about the same period. The three major monasteries in the Jericho area, therefore, represent one historical and archeological context: foundation in the Byzantine period, steady development until the fall of the first Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187; desertion and sporadic renewals of occupation by monks, and partial restorations probably in the first half of the 13th century.

The bilingual inscriptions commemorating the repairs in this monastery and in the monastery St. George in Wādī al-Qalt, betray the same style. The Greek inscriptions attached to the saints as well as the frescoes representing them, in Dayr Hajlah are sometimes inferior to those of Dayr al-Qalt, but on the whole represent the same features. In the *SWP* (3:215-216) there is a detailed description of the frescoes in the chapel:

The roof of the main chapel was covered with a representation of Jesus, “crowned, enthroned and surrounded by the twelve Apostles. The face of the central figure has been purposely effaced.

Lower down is a design representing the coronation of the Virgin, and beneath this one much defaced, apparently the Annunciation.

The frescoes in the southern chapel were much better preserved. The north apse was painted with a central figure in act of benediction, surrounded with figures dressed in robes, covered with large checks, of black and white. In the smaller south apse was painted a saint with nimbus, holding a book. The robes of this figure are also in checks, black and white...”

The north and south wall of this chapel were also covered by figures of saints, and, similar to these in the monastery of St. George, Greek inscriptions identifying them accompanied their figures. In what follows is the information gleaned from the report of the *SWP* (*loc.cit*).

On the south wall there is a figure of a saint holding a book, and on either side of the nimbus the inscription read: “The Holy Andrew of Crete.” A second similar figure on the north wall with a book in hand had the inscription “The Holy John Eleemon (Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλεημὼν).” The date of this patriarch is 630 AD.

On the south wall, again, the inscription accompanied the saint represented, as the others, with a book in hand: “The Holy Silvester, Pope of Rome.” This is identified by the *SWP* (*loc.cit*). as Silvester II (998.A.D.). Opposite, on the north wall, the fourth figure has the inscription “Holy Sophronius of Jerusalem.” Sophronius was the patriarch of Jerusalem in the time of the Muslim conquest (638 A.D.).

Over the north window was a design representing the Annunciation. On the pendentives and roof were figures of angels. One of the best-preserved frescoes was on the southwest pendentive, representing saints receiving robes from angels with a short inscription: “Simon.”

The figures were very badly drawn, especially the smaller ones. Some of the frescoes, painted in umber and ochre, resemble the smaller figures in the lower chapel on the Jabel Kūrūtūl but none were so well drawn...

The character of the inscriptions is sufficient evidence that the frescoes are of the 12th and 13th centuries (probably previous to 1187 A.D., when Jerusalem was taken). The character of the masonry, and architectural details, point to the convent being of the same date. (*SWP*, 3:216)

It is evident that the researchers of the *SWP* missed the bilingual inscription

about which Lagrange reported in “a letter from Jerusalem” (in the *RB*, 1892: 439ff.). The inscription was spotted and read by R.P. Germer-Durand.

1

Construction text

c.12c.A.D.

Bilingual Greek Arabic inscription. No measurements and no photograph available. The Greek text is on top of the Arabic one. Publication: Germer-Durand—Lagrange, *RB*, 1892:440 (Greek). MvB, Foundation MvB, file “Bet Ḥogla” (Arabic). This is the reconstruction of the Greek text suggested by Germer-Durand:

Ἀνε]κενήσθε ὑερά Μο-
ν) ἡ ταύτι ἐν ἡμέρες τοῦ
Ἰ(ωάνν)ου π(ατ)ρ(ι)άρχου (και) Ἰάκοβου τοῦ ἱγουμε(ένου)

This holy monastery was restored in the time of patriarch John (Iohannes) and the hegumen Jacob (James).

The Arabic text, according to this report, was so damaged that it seemed to Germer useless to transcribe it. Instead he offered a translation into French, which runs as follows:

“In the name of God. This work has been accomplished by the master... and the master... May God pardon them.”

M. van Berchem reported that Germer had given him a photograph, he could see 3 lines and read the following text.

(١) هذا العمل على يد (٢) (٣) غفر الله لها

This work (has been done) by... (at least one name)... May Allah forgive her/them.

Between Germer’s translation, and the remnants of the Arabic text, and possessing the Greek text of the inscription, as well as the text of the inscriptions from Dayr al-Qalt (*q.v.*, and *RB*, 1892:442), it is possible to make sense of this Arabic inscription too. The missing names are most probably those of the builders. The word *lahā* at the end of line 3 seems strange. It could be *lahumā* if the builders were two, or *lahum* if they were more than two. In the inscription from Dayr al-Qalt (*q.v.*), no title was attached to the names of the builders: “Ibrāhīm and his brothers—sons of Mūsā of Jifnah.” The invocation that comes after the names is “*raḥimahum allah wa-raḥima man qara’a wa-qāla amīn*,” could well have been here with *ghafara* as an alternative to *raḥima*.

Commenting on this bilingual inscription Germer wrote:

One can see that while the Greek text is occupied with official personages, the reigning patriarch and the monastery superior, the Arabic text was destined to preserve for posterity the names of the humble workmen who actually did the work. The Greek part of the inscription is therefore the most important. It enables us to fix, pretty near, the date of the restoration, and if I am not mistaken, to identify the monastery of Qasr-Hajlah not with that of St. Gerasimus, as is usually done, and as I myself did, but with that of Calamon...

The last Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem that was called John is the ninety-second in line. According to Lequien he was either John VII or John IX (because of a controversy about the existence of two of his predecessors who had the same name). This John participated in a Synod at Constantinople in 1156; he therefore lived during the reign of (the Emperor) Emanuel Comnenus (1143-1180) and the *Oriens christianus* (vol. III col. 502) surmised that he was recognized as the patriarch of the Greeks by virtue of a convention between this emperor and the Latin Kings of Jerusalem. We also know that this was a period of building and construction throughout Palestine, and we learn, particularly from the pilgrim Phocas (1185) that Emanuel Comnenus restored the Monastery of the Forerunner (the Baptist) on the bank of the Jordan. (PG. CXXXIII col. 952). There you have a very lucky coincidence.

Now, Phocas, continuing his march found, between the Monastery of the Forerunner and that of Calamon, the Laura of St. Gerasimus totally destroyed; nothing of it remained standing except for one column next to which lived one recluse. On the other hand he adds, the Monastery of Calamon was also rebuilt. The conclusion is that the monastery, renewed in the time of the patriarch John was, therefore, undoubtedly that of Calamon.

On the other hand the inscription (commemorating the building in John's time) was found in Qasr Hajlah. Qasr Hajlah is then, Calamon." (*RB*, 1892:440-441)

As we have seen in the introduction to this entry, there were at the end of the 19th century doubts as to the identity of Qasr (Dayr) Hajlah, and Germer-Durand entered into "this little discussion" as he puts it, in order to finally identify the place with Calamon, as Guérin had done, basing himself on the same sources (but oblivious of the inscription) some 22 years earlier. (Guérin, *Samarie*, 1:53-56).

This debate can now be decided since St. Calamon's Monastery has finally been identified at 'Ein Hajlah.

'Ayn ('Ein) Hajlah

In the 13th century the monastery of St. Gerasimus was not secluded. As we saw, next to it, about 1 km. away in the midst of a palm grove, there was a flourishing village that according to an inscription from 695/1295 was called Qaryat Hajlah. It grew up at the site of St. Calamon's monastery. (Is. Gr. 198 137; N. Is. Gr. 248 637)

The remnants of a large monastery, that were discovered in the recent excavation carried out in the area (Hirschfeld, 2002:132-133 and plan there) attest not only to the existence of the Laura of St. Calamon (see below) but also to the presence of the village that enjoyed the water of the copious spring of ‘Ayn Ḥajlah, irrigating large palm groves as well as enabling the development of intensive agriculture. It is very possible that the village was built into the deserted structures of the monastery itself.

The inscription mentioning the village is a construction and endowment (*waqf*) text, belonging to the religious college (*madrasah*) and *ṣūfī* convent (*khānaqah*) established in Jerusalem by the Amīr Sanjar ad-Dawādārī (hence its appellation “ad-Dawādāriyyah).

In what follows is the part of the inscription of the Dawādāriyyah relevant to Qaryat Ḥajlah:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بإنشاء هذه الخانقاه المباركة المسماة بدار الصالحين العبد الفقير
الى الله تعالى عبد الله ابن عبد ربه ابن عبد الباري سنجر الدواداري الصالحى ... ووقف
عليها قرية بير نبالا من القدس الشريف وقرية حجلا من اريحا ...

Basmalah. Has ordered the establishment of this blessed *khānaqah* that is called “the House of the pious men” the needy servant (for Allah’s mercy) ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abd Rab-bihi b. ‘Abd al-Bārī Sanjar ad-Dawādārī aṣ-Ṣāliḥī and he endowed for it the village of Bīr Nabālā in the vicinity of Jerusalem and Qaryat Ḥajlah near Jericho ...

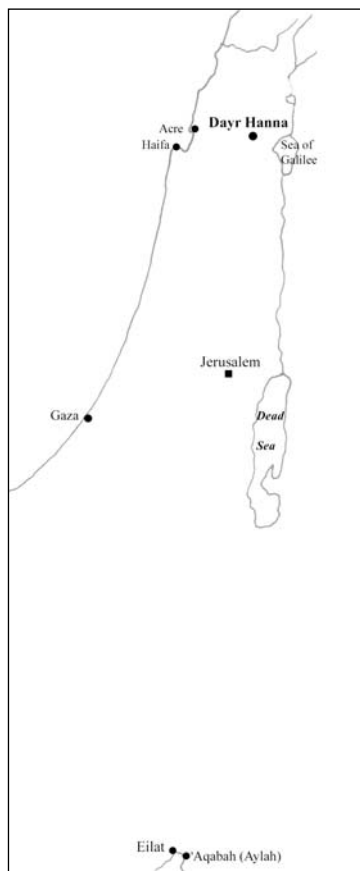
The document lists in detail the property of this endowment, which included also a bakery and a mill (with their upper floors) in Jerusalem, a house, a soap factory, six shops and paper factory in Nābulus, three fruit gardens, three shops and four mills in Baysān (Beth Shean). All this was endowed for the keeping in the *khānaqah* of a community of 30 *ṣūfīs*, twenty single and ten married, and their disciples, as well as for hosting *ṣūfī* visitors for ten days; for the teaching of Islamic law according to the Shāfi‘ī school, for the teaching and learning of *ḥadīth*, for reading the whole Qur’ān daily, and for paying a panegyrist, to eulogize the Prophet. (CIA, *Jérusalem*, “Ville,” 1: 212ff. No. 70. For the usage of the Persian term *khānaqah* as the parallel of the Arabic *ribāṭ* see *ibid.*, 87)

This inscription is the only literary source attesting to the existence of Qaryat Ḥajlah at the site of St. Calamon, or near it. The village disappeared leaving no trace (not even shards of Mamlūk pottery), which strengthens the presumption that Muslim farmers who built their *mud homes* in the ruins of St. Calamon’s monastery established it. These houses melted away when the place was deserted as a result of the deterioration of the security in the whole

vicinity and the growth of the Bedouin prowess. By the end of the Mamlūk period, and almost throughout the Ottoman period, the central government was unable to stop the nomads from robbing the sedentary areas on the verge of the desert, and even far deeper inside the country. The once flourishing agriculture in Jericho and its vicinity was utterly destroyed, and began to revive only at the very end of the 19th, early 20th centuries (see below “Dayr al-Qalt”).

DAYR HANNĀ

Is. Gr. 184 252 (N. Is. Gr. 234 752)



A village about halfway between Akko (Acre, ‘Akkā *q.v.*) and Tiberias (Tiberia, Ṭabariyyah), situated on a subsidiary road between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee. Until the twentieth century it was no more than a small settlement of 30-40 families, mainly Muslims and some Catholics (Greek Uniates) who lived in huts built in the ruins of a castle that was constructed during the rule of Zāhir al-‘Umar (for which reason the *SWP, Galilee*, 1:206, 364, describes it as a “walled town” and with “high walls all around the village,” not mentioning their being in ruins). Its main development into its present state of a thriving village was during the period of the British Mandate and in the State of Israel.

Dayr Hannā is identified with Kefar Yoḥanah of the early 2nd century, which is mentioned in Mishnaic sources as a village where priests belonging to the course of Yakhīn, used to live. Many towns and villages in its vicinity were the homes of other courses of priests. Thus, for instance, Kefar ‘Arab (Today: ‘Arrābah) was the home of the course of priests of Benei Petaḥyah; in Kabūl (today: Kābul) lived the priests of the course of Shekhenyah, and in Sha‘āb (today: Sha‘ab) the priests of the course of Dalyah. (Safrai 1982:156-157 based on the *Beraytah Shellemishmarot Kehunnah—Baraithah* of the Priestly Courses—in S. Klein, 1939. *Sefer Hayyishshūv*, add. 3:160-165. I used the term “course” for the Hebrew “*mishmēret*” following Luke 1:5 (KJV); the NIV has “priestly division.”)

Guérin visited the place on August 11, 1875, and standing on the top of a hill overlooking Dayr Hannā he could see on the west side a simple wall strengthened by towers which encircled some storage places and stables. The maintenance of the complex was very poor; it was in ruins and filled with

rubbish. From there he proceeded to the fortress itself, which occupied the top of the hill. The span of its enclosure was about 190 paces in length, and 100 in width; it was built from un-hewn stones and strengthened by towers in the four corners and in the center.

Although it has been built only in the time of Zāhir al-ʿUmar, all its parts were dilapidated, and it is breached in many places. Its main gate opened to the west. “Immediately upon entering it, I perceived on the right the remnants of a Mosque, built with hewn stones, and next to it the remains of the *serayah*, the seat of the local governor in the past. With the passage of time some fifty ugly huts were built in the enclosure, most of which are very unstable. Some 30 Muslim families and four Greek Uniates live in them.” (Guérin, *Galilée*, 1:463-4). He adds that the Christian families had there a place of prayer simple and poor like themselves. In front of the fortress of Dayr Hannā, on the west and on the east on the lower hills there were two towers built to protect the approach to the village. These were also half ruined. (*ibid.*)

As to the name Dayr Hannā, “John’s Convent,” this could mean, as Guérin suggested, that the origin of the name was connected with a church or a convent, which stood in the place. (*ibid.*, SWP, 1:206) This is probably the source for the local tradition speaking about the Crusader origin of the fortification of Dayr Hannā. (Muʿammar, 1979:56) This tradition is based, however, on fact. The place appears in the lists of Crusader settlements, and is mentioned as Wastīna (gastina) a deserted place or wasteland. This means that the place has an ancient origin noticed and indicated in the Crusader documents. (Information supplied by R. Ellenblum) Here it should be emphasized that the word *dayr* in Arabic means a dwelling place in general (from the root *d-w-r*, *Lisān*, s.v.) and not necessarily “convent” or “monastery.” In time it has been used to denote the dwelling places of Christian hermits and priests, and even the closed Christian neighbourhoods in towns (thus the Armenian quarter in Jerusalem, is known as Dayr Mār Yaʿqūb—the Convent of St. James, as well as *Dayr al-Arman* and *Harat al-Arman*—the Armenian Quarter. Hoade, 1984:279). However on the whole, place names beginning with the word *dayr* have nothing to do with convents and monasteries. They are just common names of many places such as Dayr al-Asad, Dayr al-Balah (*q.v.*), Dayr Ballūt, Dayr Dibwān, Dayr Dubbān (*q.v.*), Dayr Ghassānah (*q.v.*), Dayr Istiyah (*q.v.*) etc. (See list in SWP, General Index (1) 1888:18).

Dayr Hannā had its heyday during the rule of the Zaydānī Shaykh, Zāhir al-ʿUmar in the Galilee. In the early part of his career, Dayr Hannā, with its fine fortifications, became the base of Zāhir’s operations in central and

western Galilee. (Cohen, 1973:15-16) Together with the nearby village of ‘Arrābah, Dayr Hannā formed the rural center of the Zaydānī rule. It was a rule filled with jealousy, strife, and constant family quarrels between Zāhir and his sons and brothers. Various members of the family established themselves in different places that had come under the rule of Zāhir. Dayr Hannā and ‘Arrābah he entrusted to his elder brother Sa‘d al-‘Umar, who is responsible for the fortification of the place and the building of its mosque. (The *SWP*, 1:364, mistakenly thought that Sa‘d al-‘Umar was Zāhir’s son). These were the fortifications that years later resisted quite successfully the attacks of Aḥmad al-Jazzār’s army, who in 1776 following the killing of Zāhir al-‘Umar mounted an offensive to rid the Galilee of Zāhir’s sons. (Cohen, 1973:92f) ‘Alī az-Zāhir then found refuge in the fortress of Dayr Hannā, and was able for a while to withstand Jazzār’s siege. (*Ibid.*, 56-57) Following the intensification of the siege, as will be related below, ‘Alī had to flee secretly from the place, which sometime later capitulated to the Turkish army. Jazzār destroyed the fortifications, blew up parts of the fortress, and exiled the inhabitants of the village. One hundred years later, Guérin was able to see the still vivid signs of this demolition.

Cohen (1973:95) quotes at length Sa‘īd Effendī’s remarks on the fortifications of Dayr Hannā. Sa‘īd Effendī wrote the biography of Jazzār Pasha (*Vaṣf-i-Cezzar Ahmed Paşa*), and his observations concerning the strength of the fortifications were written in relation to Jazzār’s siege of Dayr Hannā in June-July 1776. There can be some exaggeration in the description of this chronicler, “who tended to glorify Jazzār.” (*ibid.*, 95) “It is not possible to describe (the extent of) the fortification (works) or the strength of the citadel”—says Sa‘īd Effendī, but immediately adds the following description of the village: “It was surrounded by a double wall, the inner circle having been built by Sa‘īd, (Sa‘d) Zāhir’s brother; this was fairly high and studded with 12 towers. The outer wall was erected by Zāhir himself; and his son ‘Alī added two towers, one on the eastern and one on the western side, each completely detached from the main fortress and intended to cover it in the event of siege.” (Rendered by Cohen, 1973:95, n. 59).

This fortress held at bay, as we just saw, Jazzār and his army. It was only after the Turkish admiral the Kaḫudān paṣha arrived on the scene at the beginning of July 1776, and sent a heavy cannon to the besiegers of Dayr Hannā that the fortification gave in and the defenders capitulated on July 22. They were allowed to leave with their families, and the fortifications of Dayr Hannā were demolished. (Fig.P12) ‘Alī al-Zāhir managed to escape imprisonment by the Ottomans, fled to Mount Lebanon and took refuge in the village of Nihā. (Cohen, 1973:96, and notes)

The Mosque of Dayr Ḥannā

The mosque which was built by Sa'd al-'Umar in 1144/1732-33 is regarded as the most famous of all the Zaydānī's buildings in the Galilee. The mosque was built as part of the much larger construction project of the fortifications of Dayr Ḥannā. The local tradition maintains that the mosque was built over the remnants of the Crusader church, which Sa'd al-'Umar reconstructed. As we mentioned above there could be a basis for this tradition. In fact the inscription analyzed below does not speak about the mosque but about the *dayr*, which was built. From the text of the inscription one learns that the *dayr* also included the mosque and a few houses in it, some large and some small, the income of which was used to cover the maintenance of the mosque. The mosque itself was no doubt an impressive building especially taking into consideration its rural surroundings. It is said that Jazzār Pasha who is blamed for blowing up the mosque with the rest of the fortress in 1776, was so impressed with its plan that he copied it in his mosque in Acre.

As was the custom at the time, and in other Zaydānī building enterprises, the building of the mosque too was commemorated by a poem.

1

Construction text

1144/1731-32

A slab of marble over the gate of the mosque. 7 lines, probably provincial Ottoman *naskhī*; no other technical details available. (Publication: Mu'ammār, 1979:289-90)

على الهاشمي خير البشر	(١) الحمد لله وحده فيما أمر
باني هذا الدير سعد العمر	(٢) يا من له فيمن رأى واعتبر
مسجده في كل عام صدر	(٣) بيوته مع حكره وقفاً على
ونصف على كل بيت صغر	(٤) غرش على كل بيت كبير
فمن يتقي الله فليخش الضر	(٥) إلى خادم المسجد الحرام
وجنة الفردوس تكون له المقر	(٦) بانيه يا مولاي يرجوك رحمة
رام فيه كل مجد واقتدر	(٧) قد كان للربوع فيه تأريخه

1144 = 711+47+50+95+241

Praise is due to Allah alone for what he bestowed upon
the Hashimite (Prophet), the best of mankind.

O, how fortunate is he who witnessed, and held in esteem
the builder of this dwelling place—Sa'd al-'Umar.

Its houses, and endowed land (are) dedicated to
 its mosque, (for which) they yield revenue annually:
 One *ghirsh* paid by every big house,
 and half a *ghirsh* by every small one.
 (This income goes) to the caretaker (*khādim*) of the holy mosque;
 and whoever fears Allah let him beware of (causing) damage (to the *waqf*).
 Its builder, O my Lord, begs Thy mercy,
 and let the garden of Paradise be his abode.
 The “combination of four” (*rābūʿ*) (is to be found) in its date:
 He desired in (building) it all glory and achieved it.

The poem has some strange syntactic constructions, and is influenced by the colloquial language. The writer seems to have come as near as possible to the *saʿī* meter.

L.1: The first verse can be understood properly against the background of the vernacular Arabic. “*Al-ḥamdu li-allāh ʿalā* (something)” praise be to Allah for (something), is very common in everyday speech, such as “*il ḥamdillah ʿala salāmtak*,” “praise be to Allah for your health.” However, this construction is classical and quite common in the *ḥadīth*. Thus it is said that when a person has a good dream he should “praise Allah for it” (*falyaḥmad allāh ʿalayhā*. Bukhārī, *Tāʾbīr*, 3, 46, and for more examples see Wensinck *et. al.*, 1, 1936:509)

The first verse therefore is the customary praise due to Allah at the beginning of any enterprise or act, and this is combined with the exaltation of the Prophet, the recipient of the divine message (which “Allah ordered” for him).

L.2: Here the poet continues, naturally with the description of the project itself by making it a source of happiness and adoration for whoever witnessed it.

The inscription clearly speaks about the building of the *dayr*. This could well mean the building or reconstruction of the fortifications of Dayr Ḥannā, especially the fortress itself that the local inhabitants call “*deir*” to this very day. This “*dayr*” should be regarded, therefore, not as an actual convent or monastery, but rather as the reference to the old name of the place, which was reconstructed, and in which, as we learn from the continuation of the inscription, there were a few “houses big and small.” (l. 4) As mentioned above, Guérin says that when he visited the place there were a few families living in some poor houses within the half-ruined fortress. These cannot be the “*buyūt*” mentioned in the inscription, but rather new ones which were the source of good income.

Here I wish to comment on a piece of folkloristic information, which Tawfīq

Mu‘ammar quotes in his book on Zāhir al-‘Umar from his local informants. This book is not a critical work of scholarship. It contains a strange mixture of solid sources, local legends, hearsay, and gossip. For the sake of establishing historical facts the book is of little value, but for the folklore which developed in the rural areas of the Galilee that for one historical moment shot into glory under Zāhir, and slipped back into their customary dullness after him, Mu‘ammar’s story is interesting. Because of the seemingly incompatibility between the nature of the building—a mosque, *masjid*, *jāmi‘*—on which the inscription was found, and the word *dayr*, associated with a Christian institution, a local legend was born. Šālīḥ al-Aḥmad told Mu‘ammar that “when Sa’d began to write this poem, a hidden hand kept erasing the word *jāmi‘* and writing the word *dayr*, which appears in the second verse, and thus the word *dayr* remained the predominant one.” (Mu‘ammar, 1979:290 n.3.)

I translated the verb *ʔtabir* in this line as relating to the builder, *bānī*, as its object. It is possible, however, to read the verb in the imperative: “consider and ponder over,” “learn a good lesson,” “consider as an example.” The vowelling of the *rāʔ* with *sukūn* is needed for the meter, and for rhyming of the two hemistiches of the first verse.

L.3. This verse speaks not only about “houses,” which belonged to the “*dayr*” but also to *ḥukar*, endowed lands and property managed as *waqfs*, for the maintenance of the mosque and for its caretaker. The term “*bayt*” does not actually mean a house, but rather a room. A dwelling place (*dār*) was no more than a few separate rooms, some spacious some small. In towns these could be rooms in partially ruined buildings. (Cohen, 1973:202) In this case too the “houses” mentioned here were rooms, which paid rent according to their size to the manager of the *waqf*.

L.4: The annual rent which originated from the “houses” was one (Turkish) piaster for the big houses, and half this amount for the small houses. It is difficult to estimate the value of one *ghirsh* (also *ghursh*, colloq. *qirsh*) in the late 18th century. But at the end of the Ottoman period it was a silver coin which had the value of 40 *paras* or 80 aspers (*akçe*) (the usual Ottoman coin used in accounts and financial reports. Cohen-Lewis, 1978:43). However, even in the 18th century, after much devaluation, *ghirsh* was still a coin of substantial value. For the sake of comparison only, in the 16th century, a (legally) rich man was a person whose property was valued at 40,000 *akçe* or 20,000 *para*, which made 500 *ghirsh*. (Cohen, 1984:260 n.3; 261 n. 25) An annual rent of one *ghirsh* or one half of a *ghirsh* was not a small sum of money.

L.5: Apparently, the income of the *waqf* property was to be paid to *khādim al-masjid al-ḥarām*—the servant of the holy mosque. The definition *al-Masjid*

al-Ḥarām is used only for the Holy Sanctuary, the Ka‘bah at Mecca. This name is sanctified in the Qur’ān (Q, 17:1), and is not used for any other mosque. In this case, however, I have no doubt that the term refers to the local mosque of Dayr Ḥannā. The warning *falyakhsha aḍ-ḍarar* “let him beware the punishment of Allah.”

L.6: *Al-maqar* instead of *al-maqarru* for the sake of the rhyme.

L.7: The word *rābū‘* does not exist in any of the dictionaries which I could consult. I have to accept the local explanation provided by Ṣāliḥ al-Aḥmad, Mu‘ammar’s aforementioned informant, that the word was invented to point to the digit 4 or the number 44 in the date 1144 hiding behind the words of the last stanza. (Mu‘ammar, 1979: 290 n.3) It is possible that the Qur’ānic word *rubā‘* (Q, 4:3; 35:1) was originally meant here and somehow was miswritten.

DAYR ISTIYĀ

(Also DAYR IṢṬIYĀ. Clloq. Deir Istiyā)

Is. Gr. 163 170 (N. Is. Gr. 213 670)



Also Dayr Iṣṭiyā (with *ṣād* and *ṭā'*), and Dayr Istiyā (with *sīn* and *ṭā'*). A moderate sized village in the sub-district of Nābulus, some 15km. to the south-west of the latter as the crow flies, and some 10km. west of the main route, which connects Nābulus with Rāmallah and Jerusalem. The village is surrounded by olive groves and gardens of fruit trees. It almost doubled its size in the last 50 years. When Victor Guérin visited it on June 8, 1870 he found there 400 inhabitants, but he remarks that the village must have been larger in the past since the place looked decayed, “and many of the houses being overthrown.” There are signs which indicate that the place was inhabited in ancient times: “In the mosque I noticed several marble columns, once perhaps belonging to an ancient Christian church. A great number of well-cut stones incorporated into Arab constructions are certainly the remains of old buildings, as are the lintels of some of the doors. On these I observed rectangular cartouches containing crosses chiseled out by the Muslims, and in others there are still triangles which the Muslims allowed to remain, not understanding that

it was the symbol of one of the most wonderful mysteries of Christianity.” (Guérin, *Samarie*, 2:160; copied partly by SWP, 2:315).

Dayr Istiyā is mentioned by Mujīr ad-Dīn (Bulāq AH 1283:440 l.19; 1973, 2:94) who writes that among the charitable projects of Sultan Barqūq, after he returned to power for the second time on 14 Ṣafar 792/1st February 1390, was “the dedication (in 796/1394) of the village of Dayr Iṣṭiyā, the region of Nābulus, as a *waqf* for the *simāt* of our master al-Khalīl” (that is to say to pay the expenses of the free meals, which were distributed in Hebron in honour of the Patriarch Abraham, and were known as *al-simāt al-khalīlī*, cf. *EP².s.v.* “al-Khalīl”). “And he stipulated that its income should be spent only for the

honourable *simāt*. And he inscribed the *waqf* (document) over the lintel of the gate leading into the mosque of our master al-Khalīl, peace be on him, and it is the eastern of the three gates within the wall (of the Ḥaram); it is behind the sanctuary of lady Sarah, from the east.”

The inscription on the gate, leading to Sarah’s cenotaph, is a long endowment text (*RCEA*, 18, 1991:179 and the references there), the relevant parts of which read as follows:

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما وقفه وحبسه وسبله مولانا السلطان ... الملك الظاهر
 (٢...) ... أبو سعيد برقوق بن السعيد الشهيد شرف الدنيا والدّين أبي المعالي أنس خلد
 الله تعالى سلطانه ... وأفاض على الكافة جوده وبرّه وإحسانه وذلك جميع (٣) القرية
 المعروفة بدير إصطيا من عمل نابلس المعمورة على السماط المبارك بالحرم الشريف حرم
 سيدنا الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام مختصاً بما يحتاج اليه السماط المشار اليه من المُمُون
 اللازمة وهي القمح والعدس والزيت بحكم ان لا يصرق من ريع الوقف (٤) المذكور الدرهم
 الفرد في غير ذلك بعد إبطال ما كتب به لأرباب الرواتب على القرية المذكورة وغيرهم ممن
 رتب له عليها شيء بالجملة الكافية وقفاً صحيحاً شرعياً معتبراً مؤبداً مخلداً على مر الشهور
 والأيام والسنين والأعوام لا يغيره التعداد (٥) والتكرار ولا يبدله اختلاف الليل والنهار ...
 حسب المثال الشريف الوارد على يد المقر السيفي يلغا السالمي الخاسكي الظاهري على
 المقر السيفي جنتمر الظاهري ناظر الحرمين الشريفين ... تأريخه سابع عشر من ربيع الأول
 سنة ستة (!) [وتسعين] وسبع مائة

Basmalah. This is what our lord the Sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir Abū Saʿīd Barqūq, the son of the felicitous, the martyr Sharaf ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Anas, may Allah, the exalted, perpetuate his reign... and cause his generosity, benevolence, and benefaction to engulf everybody, has dedicated as a religious endowment (*waqf*), set aside, and consecrated, namely the whole of the village known as Dayr Iṣṭiyā in the district of Nābulus (may it be prosperous). (This endowment was established) for the blessed meals—*simāt*—of the honourable sanctuary of our master Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, blessing and peace be upon him, specifically for what the aforementioned *simāt* needs of the required food provisions, namely, flour, lentils and oil. It has been stipulated that not even one *dirham* of the income of the *waqf* is to be spent on anything else, after the abolition of what had been allocated from the income of the mentioned village (prior to the establishment of the *waqf*) to the functionaries and others, whose salaries had been charged to the village. The endowment, as a complete totality, is a valid and lawful *waqf*, valuable, perpetual and eternal, enduring the passage of the days, the months, the years and the epochs. The repetition and the revolution (of time) cannot change it and the differentiation between night and day cannot cause its replacement... This is in accordance with the royal directive transmitted by his eminence Sayf ad-Dīn Yalbughā as-Sālimī, the eunuch, az-Zāhirī to his eminence Sayf ad-Dīn Jantamur az-Zāhirī, the superintendent of the two holy sanctuaries (of Jerusalem and Hebron), may Allah strengthen their support. And its date is 17 Rabīʿ I the year 796 (= 20 Jan. 1394).

(This inscription will be treated separately *s.v.* Hebron).

Remarking on the reason for the names of villages in Palestine, Tewfik Canaan says “that many villages bear the name of their most important saint. The question arises whether the village is called after the name of the saint, or the other way round. As in most cases, either principal may apply.” In the case of Dayr Istiyā the “saint” is *an-nabī Iṣyā*. (Canaan, 1927: 284-5) There is no evidence to the existence of an-Nabī Iṣyā in the archives of the IAA. However, Husseini mentioned in his report of September 30, 1941 *maqām Istiyā (sic!)*. It is possible that in Canaan’s field notes (in his words: “my collection”) the “*t*” of Istiyā was missed. At any rate the name of the village is connected with the names of two saints, an-Nabī Amiṣiyā, and (an-Nabī?) Istiyā.

These two names seem to me to be connected with each other, and could very well be the name of the Prophet Isaiah slightly distorted. In the Arabic sources the prophet is called Sha‘yā or Isha‘yā ibn Amiṣiyā (for the Hebrew Yesha‘yah ben Amoṣ). Ṭabarī, in the part of his chronicle dealing with the ancient history of Israel, and in works of chroniclers who copied him, as well as in the compilations of *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, the story of Isaiah occupies an important position because he is supposed to have prophesied the advent of both Jesus and Muḥammad. (Ṭab. 1:638; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *qīṣaṣ*, 407)

Quoting Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Jawzī writes that the prophet Sha‘yā ibn Amiṣiyā “was the one who said to ‘Īliyā, which is a village (*sic!*) in Bayt al-Maqdis whose name was Ūrī Shalum; and he said: ‘Have good tidings O Ūrī Shalum, there shall come unto thee now the Rider of the ass’—he meant Jesus (‘Īsā)—‘and shall come after him the rider of the camel’—he meant Muḥammad.” (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, 1:271) It is clear that the reference here is to Isaiah 21:7 “And he will see chariots, horsemen in couples, riders on horses, riders on camels...” As early as the first half of the 8th century there already existed a Jewish *midrash* which identified the “rider(s) on camel(s)” with the Muslims, or, more specifically, Muḥammad, who will pave the way for the Rider on the Ass, namely the Messiah. (Lewis, *Apocalyptic vision*, 1988:198, 202-3)

It is not far fetched to suggest that the name of Isha‘yā written in Arabic إشياعيا was in time distorted and became إستييا. Orthographically such a transformation is very possible, and in this way two prophets (or one prophet and one saint) were created: Isha‘yā-Istiyā and Amiṣiyā (Amōṣ). Strange are the ways of folklore: the prophet’s father became the prophet (*nabīy Allah Amiṣiyah*), and the original prophet seems to have been reduced to the position of a local saint, with his name distorted.

Jāmi‘ Nabī Allah Amīsiyā

West of the village lies a mosque called Jāmi‘ Nabī Allah Amīsiyā. (Fig. P14) The mosque has two aisles of two bays each, cross-vaulted, with the vaults carried on piers. The lintel of the entrance is part of a carved sarcophagus, and an inscription is carved upon it. East of this mosque is Maqām Istiyā, a square domed chamber whose dome was built of small stones and set on arched squinches at the corners, and along the sides of the chamber. (Fig. P15) North of the domed chamber is an open arcade in which a tomb is built. (Husseini’s report of 30.9.1941. IAA file “Deir Istiya.”)

1

Construction text

1145/1732-3

A slab of limestone, 0.38x0.22m. partly whitewashed on the upper right and base, located above the decorated lintel of the northern entrance to the mosque, 2.35m. above ground level. 5 lines, primitive, *naskhī*, thick letters unprofessionally carved, in relief; points, no vowels. (Figs. 9, 10, P13)

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بني هذا ٣) لمكان المبارك سنة ٤) مئة (!) وخمسة واربعين ٥) بعد
الألف

Basmalah. This blessed place was built in the year 1145. (1732-3)

Jāmi‘ Dayr Istiyā

In the middle of the village stands the mosque called Jāmi‘ Dayr Istiyā. It is built of three aisles, each having three bays. The mosque is cross-vaulted; the vaults are carried on pillars and columns. The west side has large stones and some are drafted. North of the mosque are the remains of an ancient wall built of huge blocks. (Husseini’s report from 30.9.1941. IAA file “Deir Istiya”)

2

Epitaph of a Muslim

1310/1892-3

In the graveyard east of the village mosque, and adjacent to it, there are four graves in a row. On the second grave from the left on the north wall, there is an inscription, made up of three parts: A (on the right), B (on the left), C (at the bottom). A five-pointed star under the inscription was engraved inside a round sunken frame.

A: A slab of limestone 0.45m. above ground level 0.23x0.38m. 4 lines, provincial *naskhī*; points, and a few vowels. Letters 2.5cm. high, in relief. (Fig. 12A)

B: A slab of limestone, 0.45m. above ground level 0.24x0.41m. 4 lines, provincial *naskhī*; points and a few vowels. Letters 3cm. high, in relief. (Fig. 12B)

C: A slab of limestone, 0.35m. above ground level, 0.06x0.39m. 2 lines, provincial *naskhī*; in relief. Each line engraved in a sunken frame that gives the impression of dividing bands in relief too. All three inscriptions seem to be three parts of one text, which ends with inscription C. (Fig. 13)

A professional hand no doubt produced the inscription, but the quality of the production varies in some lines, or parts of lines. Some parts are beautifully engraved in *naskhī* in a style which leans towards *ruq'ah*, other parts look more sluggish. Although the three inscriptions are three parts of the same epitaph, it could well be that they were produced by two people. It is also possible that originally there was another line or two at the top. The poem, however, is independent since the first two hemistiches rhyme with each other.

What is particularly surprising is the clear difference between the size of the letters in A and B. In the latter the letters are a fraction larger, and on the whole, engraved more professionally. Finally, although on first sight the inscription looks rather simple and clear, it offers difficulties, many of which I was unable to overcome. I offer here a tentative reading of most of the text, about which I am not too happy. In spite of the fact that the meter which is a perfect *basīṭ*, helped in the reading, I am still in doubt about many words, and not satisfied with the outcome which defied all my attempts for improvement.

(A) ١) غيث الرضا فوق هذا الرمس قد هللا (?)

(B) وبأ الجور حوّل عفواً ونال عَلا (?)

(A) ٢) فيه الندي كان عوناً للفقير وَمَنْ (?)

(B) اضحت مكارمه تُتلى بكلّ ملا

(A) ٣) الصالح المتقي لله سيّدنـ [ـا] (?)

(B) أبيا لأحمد من المشكلات (?) جلا

(A) ٤) لما رأى أنّ ربّ العرش يملكه (?)

(B) أجاب لَمّا دعاه الله وامثلاً (?)

(C) ١) رجا رضوان [three words] وجنة الخلد

(2) سنة ١٣١٠ (under the line)

- A-B The rain of (divine) pleasure rejoiced over this tomb,
 The disease of injustice he altered to mercy, and achieved dignity(?)
 In it is the generous one. He was help to the poor and whose
 noble deeds are continuously recited in every assembly
 He is the righteous, the God-fearing, O our master (?)
 Father to Ahmad (?) who distances himself from troubles (?)
 Since he was aware that the Lord of the Throne is his owner (?)
 He responded when Allah called him and presented himself.

C. He hoped for the consent [...?] The year 1310 (=1892-3)

The general message of the inscription is clear. The spelling of a few words was changed probably for the needs of rhyming, especially in the words ‘*alā*’ (for ‘*alā*’ 1B), *hallalā*, *malā* (for *malā*’ 2B) and *imtathalā* (4B) if my reading is correct. I could not find the name of the deceased, and I am not sure whether the words that I read at the beginning of line B3 for no better idea:

أبا لأحمد refer in any way to his identity.

L.1: The word *hallalā* seems sure. The meaning of the word is to praise, to raise the voice in exaltation. Here the word needed is *hāla* (“poured”), which is short one syllable for perfect meter, but I am sure the two *lāms* are present after *hā*. It fits the meter, and I imagine that the writer meant to describe the pouring rain of divine satisfaction, or pleasure. The verb *hayyala* carrying the same meaning can also fit here. With an effort it is possible to translate here *hallala* “praised the Lord (by saying: *lā ilāha allā allah*)” with a question mark.

The second hemistich, in spite of its clarity, defied my reading efforts. The word ‘*ulā*’ at the end is possible, particularly since the writer has a peculiar method of engraving his *lām alif*. The suggested reading of the line (with much reservation) at least fits the meter, and its subject could be the deceased, described as fighter against injustice for which he attained grandeur.

L.2: The second hemistich is problematic especially because the word *makāri-muhu* fits in with great difficulty. The verb *tutlā* seems clear.

L.3: The reading of the word *sayyid* and the letter *nūn* at the end of the first hemistich is problematic. Something is missing which might be an *alif* and the word is therefore *sayyidana* (in vocative). This reading produces a perfect *basīṭ* metre. It is also possible that the word *sayyidun* was written in full instead of the *tanwīn*, this is not unusual in inscriptions from this period.

L.4: Last word in the first hemistich is unclear. It should carry the meaning of some relation to God for which I suggested the word *yamlikuhu*, of which I can see many letters. The response to the call of “the Lord of the Throne”

comes in the second hemistich. I think that I read correctly the word *limā*. However, although the word *imtathalā* fits both meter and contents I cannot see it clearly.

C. Except for the date, which could also be 1315/1897-8, this line still awaits complete reading. My tentative suggestion is:

“...hoping for (God’s) pleasure... (three words) and the garden of eternal life is his abode. The year 1310/1892-3.”

Nabī Khāṭir

3

Epitaph of Muslim

1148/1735-6

A slab of limestone, 0.52x0.30m. set in the western wall of the tomb of Nabī Khāṭir, about 50m. to the north of the village. The bottom may be covered with whitewash. 10 lines: primitive *naskhī*; points, no vowels; letters 4cm. high, in relief. Certain sections of the inscriptions were divided for no reason by bands in relief too. (Fig. 14)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ (٢) الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٣) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (٤) الْفَقِيرُ خَاطِرَ رَحْمِهِ
(٥) اللَّهُ انْتَقَلَ سَنَةَ ٦ (الف ومية وثمنا ٧) نية واربعين (٨) اللَّهُ م (!) صلي (!) على (٩) سَيِّدِنَا
محمد (١٠) وعلى آله وصحبه

Basmalah. There is no god but Allah Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. The poor (begging Allah’s mercy) Khāṭir, may Allah forgive him, passed away in the year 1148(=1735-6). O Allah, bless our master Muḥammad and his family and his friends.

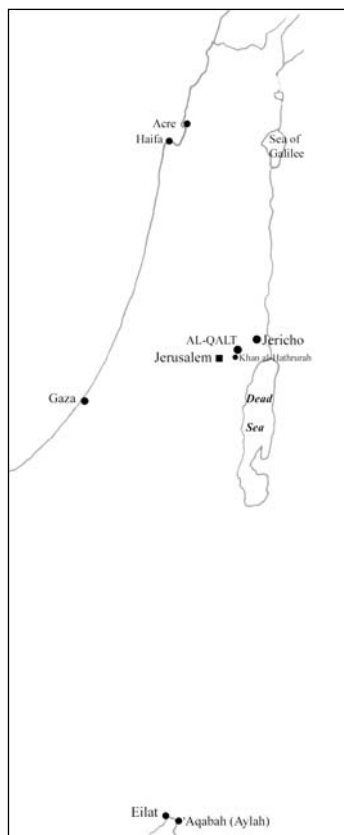
This is a very primitive inscription, not only because of the way in which it was engraved but also because of the clear mistakes in the text.

L.6: The date is completely in colloquial Arabic not only because it begins with “thousand” but also because the hundred is written *miyyeh* (for *mīḥ*).

L.8: The word *allahummā* is written in a very original way *Allāhu ma. Sallī* with long *yā* is not unusual, but ‘*alā*’ is written in fact as ‘*alī*’. Who is the deceased khāṭir is not important, what is interesting is that in the local legend he became a prophet.

DAYR AL-QALT (DAYR MĀR JIRYIS—Monastery of St. George)

Is. Gr. 190 139 (N. Is. Gr. 240 639)



Dayr al-Qalt is the popular (and wrong) name of the Greek Monastery of St. John and St. George the Chozibites, after the name of Wādī al-Qalt in which it is situated. It is better known as the Monastery of St. George (Arabic: *Dayr Mār Jiryis*). (Meinardus, 1965:232) In colloquial Arabic the name is pronounced *qelt*, and by the Bedouins I heard also *gelt*, following the usual pronunciation of the *q* as *g* (as in English “get”). Clermont-Ganneau recorded this pronunciation from the Bedouins in the area, as I did more than 100 years after him. This excludes the reading of the name of the valley as *Wādī al-Kelt*, with a *kāf* as suggested by Guérin, (*Samarie*, 1, 29-31) who argued with much conviction in favour of the (erroneous) identification of Wādī al-Qalt with the Biblical *Nahāḥ Kerith* (“brook of Cherith,” 1 Kings 17:3, *KJV*), in which the prophet Elijah hid himself from Ahab King of Israel, and was fed there by the ravens. (1 Kings 17:2-8) This identification of Guérin (and Robinson, who first suggested it) was since corrected, and the “brook of Cherith,” has been identified to the east of the Jordan, at Wādī Yābis in Elijah’s

home country—the Gilead, (Hebrew: *Yabesh Gil’ād*), north of ‘Ajlūn. (Hoade, 1984:476; cf. Valentine, 108)

The mere fact that the Arabs in the area pronounce the name with *g* proves that the written version with *q* is the right one, because the letter *kāf* is pronounced locally, and in many other places in Palestine, like “*ch*” (as in “church”). Clermont-Ganneau pointed to this phenomenon, which is very familiar to everyone acquainted with local dialects in the country. (Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, 2:33) However, whereas the Bedouins pronounce the *qāf* (*g*) the villagers around Jerusalem such as Beit Ṣafāfah, Abū Ghūsh, al-‘Isāwīyyah

and aṭ-Ṭūr pronounce the *qāf* (q), and *kāf* (k) as *chāf* (*ch* as in church). This must have confused Robinson and others to believe that *al-qal* was written as pronounced in the villages on the way to Jericho. (see Levin, 1994:251) As for the name *qelt*, written either *qilt* or *qalt*, the latter should be preferred, as van Berchem (*CIA, Jerusalem, "Ville,"* 1:19), and the editors of the *RCEA* (1:15) actually did, for two main reasons: first, the foreign ear tends to hear the pronunciation of the short vowels "a" and "i" as a short "e." Thus Clermont-Ganneau heard the word *kalb* (dog) pronounced "*chelb*," and the word *kitf* (shoulder) pronounced "*chetf*." Second, because the word *qalt* has a proper meaning in Arabic, which corresponds to the physical features of the spring locally called 'Ein el-Qelt, after which the whole valley is called. *Qalt* is a cave or a cavity in the mountain from which issue the water of a spring, "a cavity in the mountain where the water gathers in a pond, the plural is *qilāt*." (Jawhari, *aṣ-Ṣaḥāḥ, s.v. Q-L-T. Lisān, s.v.*) The spring of 'Ayn al-Qalt conforms exactly to this description. In good rainy years the water of this perennial spring is quite abundant, especially in the spring and early summer, diminishing towards autumn. Since ancient times it has been channeled by aqueducts to the plantations of Jericho. The fountainhead is in a natural cave gaping deep in the precipitous mountainside, from which the water pour into a large and rather deep pond, hidden between two walls of a narrow ravine merging with the main wild torrential course of Wādī al-Qalt. (Fig. P16)

The noun representing these topographical features is also used to describe the eye-socket. ("*qalt al-'ayn—nuqratuḥā*." *aṣ-Ṣaḥāḥ, loc. cit.*) This should hardly be surprising, taking into consideration that the word 'ayn in Arabic, as well as 'āyin in Hebrew, and similar words in other Semitic languages, mean both "eye" and "spring." (*BDB, s.v. 745a*)

Surprisingly, Clermont-Ganneau argued for a different etymology for the name, deriving it from Q-L-D from which derives the verb *qalada*, to water, "to collect water in a pond and milk in a milk skin." (*Lisān, s.v.*) He came to the conclusion that the (colloq.) Arabic verb "*yiḡallit*," meaning, "irrigate," which he clearly heard in the area, was nothing but a mispronunciation of *yiḡallid*, in which the *d* was replaced by *t*. From here the way was short to reach a conclusion that the real name of the valley was "Wād el-Keld" meaning "valley of irrigation." (*AR, 2:32*)

In spite of the usual originality and ingenuity of this great scholar, there is no need for this etymological and phonetic maneuvering. As I have shown above, the word *qalt* describes the physical features of the spring 'Ayn al-Qalt which gives its name to the whole valley, exactly as the spring 'Ayn Fārah (*SWP, Index 1:339*) further up the course of the valley to the west gave its

name to Wādī Fārah, the main tributary of Wādī al-Qalt. Wādī Fārah has been identified with Perath, the valley where Jeremiah was ordered to perform the symbolic act of hiding his linen girdle in “a hole of the rock,” and then find out “after many days” that “the girdle was marred, it was profitable for nothing.” (Jeremiah, 13:1-7) Currently the name Naḥal Perath belongs to the whole valley from its sources, to the west of ‘Ayn Fārah, until its easternmost outlet near Jericho. (Kadmon, *Toponomasticon*, 1994:97 nos. 5381, 5382)

The word *qalt*, in almost identical pronunciation, exists in Hebrew and it means a certain type of basket, which women used to carry on their heads. (*Mishnah*, Giṭṭīn ch. 8:1) The word in Hebrew came from the Greek Κάλαθος with the same meaning. It is possible that the Greek word itself has a Semitic origin (cf. Jastrow, 2:1383a). At this point the connection between the Arabic word and its seemingly Hebrew companion must remain only a guess. I can imagine that the round shape of the basket and round shape of the pond could have something to do with the early origin of the word.

The monastery where two of the inscriptions were found does not officially bear the name of the valley, but the name of St. John and later St. George of Chozibah (or Coziba—Χωζιβα, Χουζιβα, Χοζιβά (in Phocas’ *Descriptio Terrae sanctae* § 19, in Guérin, *Samarie*, 1:153 ff., and Χοζεβά). Referring to the name and the place, Abel writes that Choziba “is the transcription of a Semitic vocable, absent from the Bible, designating a Laura situated, according to Evagrius Scholasticus (*Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 7) ‘near the extremity of a ravine that exists to the north of the route followed by the travellers from Jerusalem to Jericho.’ This torrent is Wādī el-Qelt where towards 470 John of Thebes, called the Chozibite, established the monastery dedicated to the Virgin—Théotokos Chouzibiotissa, Deir el-Qelt of our time.” (Abel, *loc. cit.*, Guérin, *loc. cit.*)

John of Thébes later known as St. John of Choziba was born in Upper Egypt, between 440 and 450, and in about 480, leaving Egypt and abandoning his Monophysite beliefs, he entered Wādī al-Qalt. In 516 he became the bishop of Caesarea, but soon after his election he resigned the office and returned to the monastery where he died sometime between 520 and 530. The monastery was in part a Laura, and in part a coenobium, that is to say it had caves, which were used by hermits who preferred to live in seclusion, and the monastic building where others lived in a community keeping strict rules of communal life and allegiance to the leader. In spite of later additions to the original buildings, the main features of the monastery are clearly visible. (Cf. Evagrius, *loc. cit.*; PG, LXXXVI, col. 2716)

Following the route from Jerusalem to Jericho after passing Khān al-

Ḥathrūrah, the road forks to the left (north) descending the “Ascent of Adummīm” (*Talʿat ad-Dam*) following the ancient route to Jericho. Soon after, the deep ravine of the Qalt, the monastery comes into view.

Here is the place to insert a comment on the Arabic name *Talʿat ad-Dam* that was given to the route ascending from the plain of Jericho along the southern bank of Wādī al-Qalt. Note that the word *Talʿah* is written with a *tāʾ* (ت). The word *talʿah* denotes a hill, a hillside, a mountainside, even torrential stream, but not an ascent. This means that the Arabic kept the phonetics of the original Hebrew (Joshua, 15:7; 18:17) but is not the translation of the Hebrew *maʿalē adummīm* (“Ascent of the Reds”), although the route following the *talʿah* (تلعة)—mountainside, is definitely a steep *ṭalʿah*, (طلعة) an ascent. From here the Templars took the name for the Castle, which they built for the protection of the pilgrims and travellers on the road to Jericho, particularly in the wild vicinity of Wādī al-Qalt that was always infested by robbers (Figs. P17, P18). The castle was built by the Templars not far from Khān al-Ḥathrūrah, and was called Chastel Rouge or Cisterne Rouge. It was also called Tour Maledoin, thus preserving the sound of the Hebrew name. (Smith, 1968:180, n. 5. see also below) In the memories of the local inhabitants, the name of the Bloody hillside given to this route bears references to the blood of the unfortunate travellers who fell prey to the robbers and the red streaks in the stones in this area could have well supported this sanguinary name. (Cf. Hoade, 1984:474)

It should however be emphasized that the Hebrew name מַעְלֵה אֲדָמִים “the Ascent of the Reds,” has nothing to do with blood, and the remark of De Saulcy (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 1:193) that the name has to do with the colour of the rock rather than with blood of slain travellers is probably correct, and that the Arabic name, preserving the Hebrew sound formed the basis for the additional meaning. Add to this the parable of Jesus about the traveller who was saved by the Good Samaritan after falling victim to robbers on his way to Jericho (Luke, 10:30-34), and the transition from “red” (*adom*) to blood (*dam*) becomes understandable. This does not mean that robbers did not infest the road to Jericho. They did; and the establishment of the castle bearing the same name as the route which it commands, as attested already by St. Jerome, proves the attention paid by the authorities to the security of this strategic route. It is clear that such a secluded and difficult mountainous ascent could easily have been taken over by brigands, which explains why the parable of Jesus was placed here, and the inn of the Good Samaritan was identified with Khān al-Ḥathrūrah. (Guérin, *vol. cit.* 155f. with extensive quotation of the sources)

The remains of the fortress of Tal'at ad-Dam are impressive even today. (Fig. P18) The fortress crowns the hill to the north of the present modern road (which at this section follows the same route of the ancient road) from Jerusalem to Jericho. It occupies an excellent strategic position overlooking Khān al-Hathrūrah, lying below, half way between Jerusalem and Jericho, to the south, and adjacent to the road. Seen from the lower area on the west, the Khān occupies a high and commanding position. It was built in a saddle between two higher summits commanding it from north and south. The road passes between the Khān and the northern hill over which the castle was built and rebuilt throughout the ages in such a way that it could always protect the Khān lying about 200 meters to its south, as well as a very considerable section of "the Ascent of Adummīm." (Fig. P17 and map Pl. 24) The present remains of the castle consist of vaulted spaces forming solid square structure built around a central open yard. There is nothing to block the view on all directions. On the west, Jerusalem looms far on the high ridge, and the road ascending to it can be followed for many miles. On the south and southeast, the wild broken up landscape of the Judean desert meets the eye with its valleys stretching to the cliffs overlooking the Dead Sea. On the east, the view extends as far as the Mountains of Moab rising high over the Jordan valley; and on the north the ridges and hills of the north Judean desert, and the valley system of Wādī al-Qalt and its many tributaries fill the nearer space. Further away, the highlands of Samaria are clearly visible. (Fig. P20)

Generally speaking, the Ascent of Adummīm (*Tal'at ad-Dam*), and the rest of the route to Jericho, runs along the southern bank of W. al-Qalt, high above the deep gorge. (See also below).

From the top of the southern bank, the monastery huddles against the perpendicular wall of the precipitous northern bank of the *wādī* that is dotted with scores of caves, most of which are inaccessible without ropes (Pl. 18). To this very day some of these caves above the main complex of the monastery, and at the Monastery of the Mount of Quarantine are still used by seclusion-seeking hermits. (Fig. P21, P22, P23) About one kilometer down the valley there was another monastery, known actually by the name of Dayr al-Qalt or Dayr al-Banāt ("Monastery of the daughters, or maidens" Is. Gr. 190 139. (N. Is. Gr. 240 639); see map Pl. 24 below). This was the Laura of St. Anne. It was rebuilt in 1897, demolished and sacked by the Turks in 1917, and since then has not been rebuilt. (Hoade, 1984:478; Meinardus, 1965: 243-246. Photograph: p.244)

The Monastery of Choziba flourished at the end of the 6th century during the life of St. George of Choziba, who died in 620. Earlier, under the emperor



Pl. 18. The monastery of St. George.

Justinian (527-565) a great building project was accomplished in the place, the remnants of which are still visible. It is an accepted view that during the Persian occupation of 614 the monastery was “certainly destroyed,” but that St. George, due to his advanced age, was not harmed. (Hoade, 1984:477; Meinardus, 1965:234; Hirschfeld, 2002:117-118). The Persian invasion of 614, particularly the siege of Jerusalem and its occupation, was accompanied by terrible massacre. This was followed by the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and of many other Christian religious institutions—churches, convents, and monasteries in the city itself and its vicinity. The True Cross was carried off to the Persian capital, Ctesiphone. (Haldon, 1990:43) However, the tendency to make this occupation responsible for the mass-destruction of churches and monasteries throughout the country is exaggerated (note that the Church of Nativity was not touched. Hoade, 1984:390). It is therefore questionable whether this information about the Persian destruction of the

monastery of St. George is correct, (*cf.* Meinardus, 1965:234) particularly since Queen Shīrīn and the King's intimate adviser Yāzdān, both Christians, influenced the Persian court. (Baras, 1982:335) There is also the testimony of Antonius in *Vita St. Georgii Chozebiatae*, (*Analecta Bollandiana* VII, 97-144, 336-370) who mentions that the monastery was used as a refuge for monks who fled from the Persians in 614. (Reference by Abel, 2, 1938:300, and quoted in the IAA (PAM) file "Deir Mar Jiryis" 7.2.1947)

There is no information concerning the monastery in the Middle Ages. It was certainly still occupied at the beginning of the 9th century. (Meinardus, 1965:234) It was during the Middle Ages that the place was identified with St. Joachim and St. Anne. In 1106 when abbot Daniel visited the area he speaks about the monastery as the place of St. Joachim fasting, which means that he heard the tradition that had already existed about the place. There are no reports about the extent of the damage to the monastery caused by the earthquake of the winter of 1033, which had demolished Jericho completely, burying most of its inhabitants under the rubble. (Abel, 1, 1933:53) However, during the later part of the 12th century, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I. Comnenus ordered the restoration of many Christian institutions in the country, and it was then that the Monastery of St. John and St. George was rebuilt. The bi-lingual Arabic and Greek inscription (No. 3 below), speaking about the "work" done in the Monastery, is attributed to this period, and there is even suggestion that its exact date is 1179. (Schneider, 1931:308, n. 39) However, not long afterwards, with the decline of the Byzantine monastic life in the Holy Land, the monastery fell into ruins. After the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Jericho was one of the Royal domains and the sugar mills were a good source of income for the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher to whom also belonged the Qarantal. (Also: Quruntul, Guérin, *vol. cit.*, 39, 45. Tristram calculated and found that they collected no less than 5000 pounds sterling annually from these mills. Tristram, 1882:202) According to Jacques de Vitry early in the 13th century numerous hermits lived in the whole area. (Quoted in *SWP*, 3:204), and according to an inscription the monastery was restored in 1234, when the Emperor Frederick II ruled over Jerusalem. (Hoade, 1984:477. See below, inscription No. 3) but even if this information is sure there is no evidence for any activity in the monastery since then.

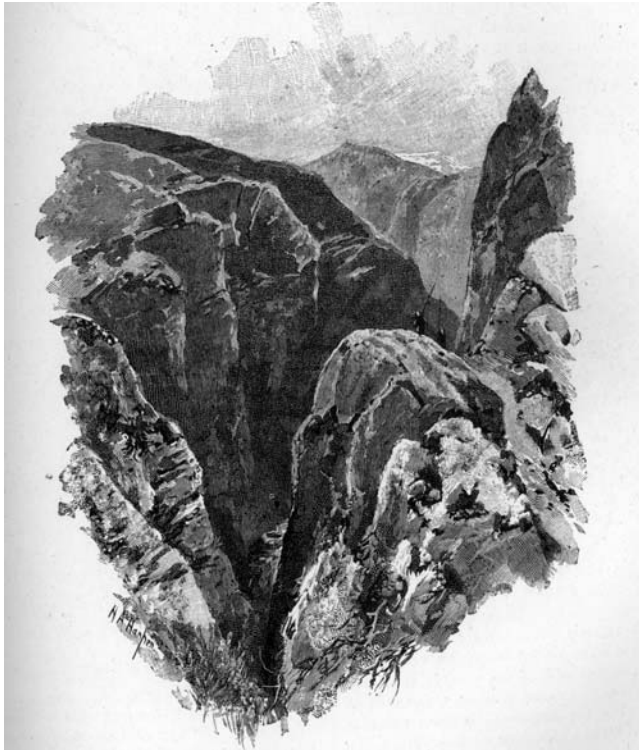
Arculfus, Willibald, Bernard the Wise, Saewulf, and Maundeville, to point out only a few major medieval travellers, do not mention the place. Felix Fabri, visiting the place in 1483, wrote that the monastery was in ruins.

The detailed description of the route along Wādī al-Qalt and the state of

the monastery comes from Henry Maundrell in the early spring of 1697. Travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho this is what he has to say:

“A most miserable, dry, barren place it is, consisting of high rocky mountains, so torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion, in which its very bowels had been turned outwards. On the left hand, looking down in a deep valley as we passed along, we saw some ruins of small cells and cottages, which they told us were formerly the habitations of hermits retiring thither for penance and mortification; and certainly there could not be found in the whole earth a more comfortless and abandoned place for that purpose.” (Wright, 1848:449)

“The deep valley” into which Maundrell looked down could be only Wādī al-Qalt for this was the only valley to the left of the road descending to Jericho. (Pl. 19) From his testimony, which, admittedly, was the impression of a quick passer-by, the monastery seems to have been mostly, if not completely, deserted. When Henry Baker Tristram (1822-1906), the Canon of Durham, visited the area on December 30, 1863 he was impressed by the “tremendous gorge of Wady Kelt,” and describing the hermit’s caves in the perpendicular wall, he also remarked that the place was desolate. (Tristram, 1882:197)



Pl. 19. Wādī al-Qalt (19th century engraving)

The monastery, like other monasteries in the whole region of Jericho, underwent extensive reconstruction in modern times. Callinicos, a Greek monk, began the building in 1878. It was completed in 1901, and gave the monastery its present appearance. Timothy I, patriarch of Jerusalem, added the belfry in 1952. (Meinardus, 1965:215; Hoade, 1984:477-478) The monastery has 3 levels. The first and the uppermost is a cave church dedicated to St. Elias. The second is the main level; there are the churches of the Saints John and George of Choziba, as well as the main church dedicated to the Virgin. The third level consists of the old entrance, storage vaults and the tombs of five Syrian monks, who were the first to settle in this part of the Wādī between 420 and 430. (Meinardus, 1965:232; Hoade, 1984:477-478)

The monastery and the valley have been associated with a few major saints and holy figures. As mentioned above, according to one tradition it was here that St. Joachim concealed himself and deplored the barrenness of his wife, Anne. Here also he had the vision of the angel who announced to him the birth of his daughter Mary. His name appears in the Greek inscription on the northern wall of the main chapel (at point G of the attached plan. Pl. 20) The fresco representing his likeness shows the saint holding a scroll (with defaced writing) and the inscription (in capital letters) was painted round the nimbus surrounding his head. (Fig. P24) It reads:

Ο Άγιος Ιωακειμ ο πατηρ της θεοτοκου

The holy Joachim, father of the Mother of God

The fact that the medieval tradition attached St. Joachim and St. John of Cozeboth to this monastery accounts for the three frescoes of the two saints on its walls.

The second and the third levels, namely the entrance hall with the vaults below, the chapel and the cells, are the main parts of the monastery complex.

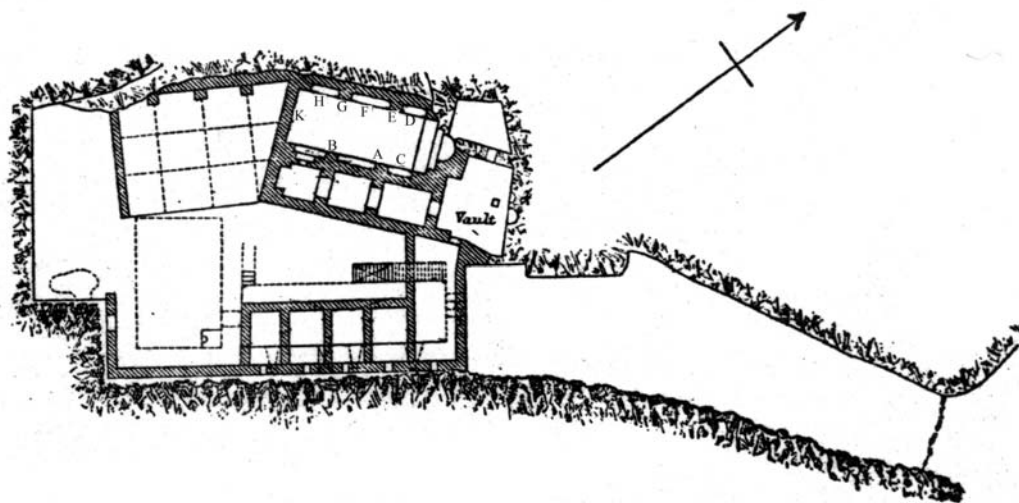
The following description from the *SWP* generally corresponds to the present state of the edifice:

“The interior walls of the chapel, of the corridor, and of the small chapel behind, are all covered with cement and painted in fresco, with figures and inscriptions. Two sets of these frescoes are visible in places; the older are much defaced, but appear to have been better executed, and resemble those in the chapels on Jebel Kūrūntūl (*sic!*).”

The preserved Greek inscriptions on the walls of the chapel were published in *SWP*, 3:193—195. Most of the Greek inscriptions are connected with the Virgin and the saintly figures associated with the edifice. They appear usually



Pl. 20. The likeness of Joachim ? (detail) and Greek inscription



Pl. 21. *SWP* plan of the Monastery of St. George. Top: main chapel and points of Greek inscriptions.

on the frescoes representing them at the points marked on the plan (pl. 21) by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and K. (e.g. Fig. P25)

In what follows is the *SWP* report about the Greek inscriptions beside the one (at point G) quoted already above:

“In the chapel at A. The figure of a saint holding a cross in his hand, and the head surrounded with a nimbus with the following title round it. This, with the remaining inscriptions, is written in capitals...

Ο Άγιος Αθανασιος του αθωνος

At point B is a figure of a saint holding a roll with a defaced inscription on it. Round the nimbus is the title:

Ο αγιος Ιωαννης ο Χοζεβοτης

O Holy John the Chozebite

Above are figures of angels much defaced. The cement on which the fresco is painted was observed here to have bits of chopped straw in it.”

A few Greek letters could be read on the roll in the saint’s hand, which except for one word –Αδελφε—do not add up to any meaningful text.

“The point marked C shows a defaced picture of with two inscriptions:

+ Οι Οιμενον—
και πατριαρχων
—συνεκρ—κωση
—νλακω—
—μνοτ—
—θανν

The lower fragment beneath the picture:

Ονα
ωνε — ωερ
τον εινα — ακοστοντρος
χρονον

The apse of the chapel is ornamented with a conventional pattern of Vandyke’s, green and yellow. There are two square tables painted with crosses flanked by letters now effaced.

Over the niche at D, is the following inscription:

—ανοισμονον υ εκ των—ασταλων ημα εκ αταχιω—ον σylon αμεν

Evidently a prayer.

In the niche is another inscription, apparently a gloria.

At the point E is the figure of a saint holding a book. On either side of the nimbus the title

Ο αγιος ο του Καλαμονου Γερασμιος

The Holy Gerasimus of Calamon

The names of Calamon and Gerasimus were identified with the monasteries of St. Calamon, which existed in the 12th century in the vicinity of Jericho, and that of St. Gerasimus near the Jordan. (*SWP*, 3:197 note)

... At the point marked F on the plan there is a design with a large central figure. The head is a man's; the figure appears to be throned and has a plate on the breast. On the left is a female saint; on the right two male saints, the further in the act of benediction.

At H is a fresco representing the Virgin Mary, the hands raised, the palms towards one another; on the breast a circle containing the head and shoulders of a smaller figure."

The latter represents the infant Jesus with the nimbus and the cross upon it.

"The face of the virgin has been purposefully obliterated. Round the nimbus is the inscription:

Μητηρ θεου
The Mother of God

Beneath this design remains of the older frescoes are visible.

At point I is the figure of a saint and of a cherub painted on the intrados of the arch. Over the head of the saint is the title:

Ο χ[αι]ρετισμος
του Αγίου Ιωακίμ
The greeting of St. Joachim

Beneath the angel:

Αγγελος Κυρίου
The Angel of the Lord

The saint being St. Joachim.

At K, at the back of the chapel, are designs representing the Entombment, the washing of the Apostles' feet, and the death of the virgin; beneath are effaced inscriptions and geometrical patterns.

The north wall of the corridor is covered with a design representing the Last Judgment.

The chapel behind on the east also has frescoes on the walls. Over the north door leading into the cells are the figures of St Joachim and of St. Anne with inscriptions, and beneath a subject, apparently the Agony. Above the two saints are two hands coming out of clouds in the position of benediction.—

The vault, or tomb, beneath this chamber was full of bones and skulls. Just north, at a higher level outside the chapel, there are rock-cut cells and niches covered with cement, on which yellow crosses of all sizes are painted in great numbers, perhaps representing visits of pilgrims.

As far as the date of these inscriptions is concerned, De Vogüé (*Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p.91) suggested, that based on the peculiarities of the Greek characters, they should be ascribed to the 13th century. The frescoes in Wādī al-Qalt, the Qarantal as well as those found at Bethlehem, should be ascribed to the Crusading period although the caves and parts of the buildings are older. (SWP, 3:204)

Painted in between some of the Greek inscriptions there is also some Arabic writing mentioned by the SWP, (3:196) as: “*graffiti* in modern Arabic character... visible on the lower older layer of plaster.” Those inscriptions, however, were neither copied nor studied. I am not sure whether the “graffiti” mentioned in the report of the SWP is the writing which I spotted between the images on one of the photographs in the IAA archives. On the original photograph the writing is very small and barely recognizable. However, once enlarged an eight-line inscription appeared. (Pl. 22)

Except for the first line written in black, the inscription was painted in white or other bright colour. A very professional hand produced this inscription. The lines are straight, and the line spacing is consistent. The letters are perfectly balanced and it is clear that an experienced calligrapher wrote the text. The script is *naskhī* with a tendency towards the cursive *ruqʿah*. Part of the writing is defaced, and it is difficult to date the inscription on the basis of the script alone. It could well be the work of Christian Arabs who were involved in the late 19th century construction works in the monastery. But it seems highly improbable that an ordinary worker, or even a master builder could have had such good knowledge of Arabic calligraphy. It is evident that the Arabic writing was superimposed on the surface of the older frescoes. From its contents, it is also obvious that the inscription—a prayer—was produced by, or for, a pious person, evidently an Arabic speaking Christian; and its location between the images of the saints is for the purpose of drawing blessing from them, or seeking blessing in the prayers of other visitors and worshipers offered in front of the saints. Usually such inscriptions contain a phrase invoking divine mercy for “whomsoever reads (the inscription) and says Amen.” It is possible that such an invocation exists in the parts which I am unable to decipher in this inscription too.

Clermont-Ganneau, who visited the place November 26, 1873 (*cf.* AR 1:30) reported that the “frescoes which decorate the church and the ruined chapel are covered with graffiti, painted or engraved.” (PEF, *Quarterly Statement*, 1874: 88) Since he does not say anything more about the graffiti, it is difficult to say whether this one was among them. If so, then it exists in the place from before its present restoration. (Pl. 22, Fig. P25)



Pl. 22. Inscription on the Chapel's fresco

Invocation

Date: undecided

(١) إرحم (?) يا رب إرحم.... (٢)... مور ابو امجد (?) بن.ها [رون (?) (٣) الولي (?) واغفر
خطاياہ (٤) وبلغه اماله في الدنيا وفي (٥) الآ [خر]ة مه— ... أمين امين (?) (٦). وايضا (?) يا
رب أر.... (٧).... صور في ملكوت السما (?) (٨)..... أمين أمين (?)

Have mercy O Lord, have mercy on... (name) and Abū Amjad (?) b. Hārūn (?) the master (?) and forgive his sins and cause him to attain his aspirations in this world and the world-to-come... amen, amen; and also O Lord (be pleased with)... ... In the Kingdom of Heaven... amen, amen.

In some places I am not sure about the reading, and I leave improvements and corrections to the readers.

In line 3 I am almost sure about the word *al-walī* which could also mean the benefactor. The language seems to be Christian Arabic, especially such terms as *malakūt as-samāʾ*.

The urge to leave graffiti by visitors seems to be ingrained in human nature. It is particularly true when a surface (stone, stucco etc.) belongs to a monumental structure or to a holy place. In the last case the writer of the graffiti wished to draw a blessing from the holy place. The holy place could be Islamic or non-Islamic. The apse of one of the ruined churches at Kur-nub (Mamshīt, Mampsis—Μάμψις) in the western Negev had been covered by such graffiti, consisting of short invocations such as: “O Allah, forgive (so and so...)”. On the plaster of the Synagogue of Sūsiyah, in the southern Judean desert, graffiti was left written in ink. The same can be said about all the inscriptions from Bayt Jibrīn (*q.v.* CIAP, 1) and from Dayr Dubbān and ʿEin Zurayb published in this volume. Some graffiti are far more substantial than the simple ones containing a name and a short standard invocation. Like the one from Beit Sheʿarayim (in the addenda to this volume above), they could be a literary piece: a poem or a short story. In a book attributed to Abū Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (c. 375) dedicated to the “literature of strangers,” the author collected many samples of these graffiti pieces.

The first entry tells the story of graffiti that was supposedly written by caliph Maʾmūn (813-833) in a church. The person who tells the story was with the caliph, during one of the latter’s campaigns against the Byzantines. They entered into “an old church in Syria,” and having spent long time in it marveling at its decorations, the caliph did not want to leave without leaving his mark in the place. He turned to his companion and said to him:

When strangers on journeys and people far removed from their friends and companions enter a well-known place and a famous site, it is their habit to leave behind a record of their presence in order to seek blessing in the prayers of (other) strangers, travellers, and people bereft of their kith and kin (on their behalf). I want to join in, so get me a pot of ink.” The caliph then wrote a few verses wishing the strangers who read them a safe return to their loved ones, and finished with: “so when you read it, know that it was I who wrote it. (Crone and Moreh, (trans.) 2000:21-22).

This is most probably an anecdote. The names were inserted into a frame story or foundation tale, in which identities could be changed at will. What matters is the frame story, which contains the place and circumstances in which graffiti messages were inscribed or written. Names of caliphs or other

important personages are only changing decorations for such stories, but the basic foundation tale is true.

The graffiti among frescoes in Dayr al-Qalt is another such example. In this case I am almost sure that the writer, or the commissioner of the inscription, was a Christian. Examining the inscription it is easy to see that it was not done in haste or on the spur of the moment. On the contrary, the writer was very professional. He chose the space between two winged dark figures, apparently angels, and prepared the background for the inscription, painting a rectangular space in dark paint (except the top painted in white). Only after preparing the background that had to be left to dry for sometime, he or a professional calligrapher wrote the first line in dark paint and the rest in white.

The Arabic epigraphic material found in the monastery of St. George and in Khān al-Ḥathrūrah will be considered together. They represent clear non-literary evidence about the major route which passed through Jericho to Jerusalem, and about the building work in the monastery, which took place prior to the renovations of Callinicos in the 19th century.

Clermont-Ganneau, who in December 1873 visited the monastery (he prefers “convent”) “which lies in the wildest part of the Wādī,” described it just a few years before it underwent renovation. Most of the details contained in his report still exist. The inspectors of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities (now in the IAA files) naturally describe the renovated monastery.

In the field work Clermont-Ganneau was helped by Conder and Tyrwhitt-Drake who had been working in Jericho and its vicinity for the PEF, *Survey of Western Palestine*, and obtained from them the initial information about the Greek-Arabic inscription on the gate of the monastery, commemorating certain building activity in the place (see below No. 3), which he then went to copy himself. (AR, 2:30) Conder had prepared a plan of the site, which is described as “a ruined monastery perched on the side of a perpendicular precipice on the north bank of Wādy Kelt.” (SWP, 3:192) The caves above the monastery, the places of the cells of the ancient Laura, are described as “inaccessible” (as they are today).

Jericho and its environs—The archeological find

Already in the 2nd century BC, the Hasmonean rulers made extensive use of the abundant water of the springs of ‘Ayn Fawwār (the principal spring of Wādī al-Qalt which supplies up to 3.6 million cubic meters of water a year),

of 'Ayn al-Qalt, and of another two lesser springs. They led the water by a sophisticated system of aqueducts to irrigate the gardens in the west of the plain of Jericho at the foot of the mountain ridge. The Hasmonean kings, and later also Herod, built their winter palaces at the opening of Wādī al-Qalt. The impressive remnants of these palaces were discovered in the excavations in Tilāl (or Tulūl) Abū al-'Alā'iq (Is. Gr. 191 140; N. Is. Gr. 241 640. Colloq. Tlūl Abū al-'Alāyeq and Tlāl Abū'l-'Alāyeq; أبو العليق (تلول) not تلول أبو العليق as in *SWP*, 3:224; index, 2:352 for sheet XVII) which was begun by Charles Warren already in 1868, (Guérin, *vol. cit.* 28-29. *SWP*, 3: 224-226), and carried on in 1909, 1911, and 1950-1951. The most intensive excavations, however, took place since 1973. Tilāl Abū al-'Alā'iq, (the name which I verified with the Bedouins in the area) are two artificial mounds, that is to say, *tells*, on the northern and southern banks of the opening of Wādī al-Qalt, 0.5 km. to the east of the Judean mountains overlooking the plain of Jericho, and 1.5 km. to the southwest of the modern city, and just north of 'Aqabat (colloq. 'Aqbet) Jabr, where the ascending ancient road from Jericho to Jerusalem begins.

For a quarter of a century since 1973, Ehud Netzer of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem carried out most extensive and thorough excavations in the sites, uncovering the huge complex of palaces, baths, theatre, hippodrome, gardens and pools, as well as the huge 500,000sq.m. royal estate and no less than five aqueducts, which lead the water for its irrigation and for the other needs of this great project. The particular attention and great interest paid by the Hasmoneans and Herod to Jericho, and the massive expenditure involved in the building of the palaces and estates there, are fully understandable. (*BJ*, I. 407, 659; II, 59; *Ant.* XVII, 161, 194) Since ancient times Jericho and its environs, enjoying several good water sources, fertile land and hot climate, was famous for its extensive plantations of date palms and other expensive agricultural products. It is not surprising that Josephus calls Jericho a "divine place," (*BJ*, IV, 469) and he is joined by other sources that laud Jericho's gardens, also stressing the fact that the abundant supply of water as well as its hot climate made it an ideal place for the growing of various types of perfume and medical plants particularly the balsam, which gained the city its particular fame. (*Cf.* Guérin, *vol.cit.*, 31-39) Its dates, which earned her the name "The City of palm trees," (Deut. 34:3; Judg. 3:13) were regarded the finest (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIII, 4; Guérin, *vol. cit.*, 48-49 quoting major classical sources), and the city continued to possess rich date-palm groves well into the Crusader period. (Saewulf, (1102) 1848:45)

The desert area around it, especially the secluded caves burrowed in

the precipitous gorges of Wādī al-Qalt and the Mountain of Qaraṇṭal (or Qurunṭul, the Arabic form of the Latin: *quadraginta*—forty) the traditional place of the Temptation of Jesus, where he fasted for forty days (Mark, 1:12-13, Luke, 4:1-2), attracted monks and anchorites since the early centuries of Christianity. Pilgrims made the area a regular station in their route of visitations encouraging the Christian population to keep inns, and supply them with services, “and cultivation seem to have declined.” (Smith, 1968:182 n.2; *SWP*, 3:184 and the sources there) This could not have been a serious decline because after the Islamic conquest the agriculture flourished with dates, indigo and bananas as its main products. (Muḡaddasī, 174; Marmardjī, 1951:8; Le Strange, 1890:396-397)

In time, sugar cane was introduced and the city developed sugar production of excellent quality. (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 3:111 s.v. “Rihā”) Sugar production continued under the Crusaders, as has already been mentioned above, and the revenues of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher from them were substantial (William of Tyre XV, 27, quoted by Smith, *loc. cit.* “5,000 pounds sterling annually” Tristram, 1882:202). The ruins called “*Ṭawāhīn as-Sukkar*”—the sugar mills, near Tell as-Sulṭān, date probably to that period. (Guérin, *vol. cit.*, 39, quoting Jacques de Vitry). Sugar was still cultivated and produced near Jericho in the 14th century, which means that the mills either continued to work or were reactivated. (*Ibid.*, note 2)

Nothing remained of this prosperous and fertile city by the end of the 19th century. It deteriorated to “a miserable mud hamlet with a few black tents pitched among the houses.” (*SWP*, 3:172) From the once extensive palm groves famous for their excellent dates there remained in the city a “single palm.” (*Ibid.*, 168) The process of its deterioration from which it revived gradually only in the 20th century, began towards the end of the Crusader period. Arculfus, who travelled the country in the later years of the 7th century, speaks of its “large groves of palm trees” that stretched between the uninhabited site of the ancient city and the Jordan River. The palm groves were “interspersed with open spaces, in which are almost innumerable houses.” (Wright, 1848: 7) Some 400 years later, Saewulf in 1102, described Jericho as “a fertile land covered with trees, and producing all kinds of palms and other fruits.” (*Ibid.*, 45) Some two centuries later, however, the picture changed. Sir John Maundeville in 1322 wrote that Jericho, “which was once a little city, but is now destroyed, and is but a little village.” (*Ibid.*, 177) When Henry Maundrell arrived at the plain of Jericho on March 29, 1697 the only thing he had to say about the place was: “Jericho at present (is) only a poor nasty village of the Arabs” (*ibid.*, 450) Guérin refers to the place as consisting of 50 crude

mud houses, inhabited by poor miserable looking peasants, remarks about the disappearance of all the rich agricultural products that once represented the splendour of Jericho. He attributes this deplorable condition of the place to the constant attacks of the Bedouin tribes, as well as the indifference of the few peasants in the area. (Guérin, *Samarie*, 1:153 *vol. cit.*) The revival of the modern town is no doubt connected with the acquirement of large cultivable areas by some of the rich families of Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century, and Muḥyī ad-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī's reconstruction of the water system of Wādī al-Qalt to water his extensive plantations (no. 4 below). Soon the town became the winter resort for the wealthy, together with assuming its historical status as a station on the major route connecting western Palestine with Trans-Jordan, particularly after the establishment of the British administration in both following World War I.

Jericho has always enjoyed strategic importance, occupying the entrance to the major routes leading from the north, east, and south through Jordan Valley, into the heart of the country. It is not a coincidence that the Biblical account about Joshua's invasion began from Jericho, and its occupation exposed all the routes into the heart of the land to the invading Israelites. (Joshua 6)

The two Roman milestones, one of which the local Arabs call *dabbūs al-'Abd* found on the route of Tal'at ad-Dam (Guérin, *Samarie*, (1):155; *AR* 2:33-34, *SWP*, 3:192), as well as the two Muslim ones (see below Nos. 1, 2), discovered on the ancient route to Jerusalem that runs along Wādī al-Qalt, add another angle to the massive archeological evidence about ancient Jericho, and lend support to the literary testimony of the sources regarding the key importance of the place. It is therefore understandable that various rulers of the city paid attention to its defenses, and built around it, in commanding areas, several forts and watchtowers to defend its agricultural areas, and the main routes leading to it. Many of these towers and small citadels were also uncovered in the excavations. A famous fortress commanding the large-scale Herodian project from the southwest was called Cypros after the name of Herod's mother. Is it possible that the name was preserved in the Arabic Jabr, which is found in the two names of Bayt Jabr. One is the "Lower Bayt Jabr"—*Bayt Jabr at-taḥtānī*, which was in the late 19th century "a small fort on the south side of the Jerusalem road, commanding the ascent from the Jericho plain." (*SWP*, 3:190) The remnants of this "fort," an almost square tower about 8x8 m. massively built are still standing over a hill on the south bank of Wādī al-Qalt. (Fig. P.26) This ascent, or mountain pass, leading to Jerusalem above Wādī al-Qalt, now called the "Mountain Pass of Jabr" '*Aqabat*

Jabr. (Is. Gr. 190 139. *SWP*, 3:184 with reference to Josephus) The second Bayt Jabr—the “Upper Bayt Jabr”—*Bayt Jabr al-fawqānī*, at some distance up the pass, was a water reservoir, part of the aqueduct system which brought the water of the springs of ‘Ayn Fārah and ‘Ayn Fawār to the agricultural projects around the mouth of the valley. It is situated almost opposite the Monastery of St. George next to the “Roman Road” running along the southern side of the ravine of the Qalt. Today it is a heap of ruins with still the remnants of a domed structure above the remnants of the reservoir. (Fig. P27, *ibid.*, 190-191; Meshel and Amit, 1989:233, pl. 6 and map pl. 1) It has been wrongly identified with Trex (Θρήξ), the fortress which Alexander Jannaeus (BC 102-76) built. (Avi-Yonah, 1962:119)

The inscriptions studied below are connected with the route to Jerusalem passing through Jericho; with the monastery of St. George, and with the aqueducts, which transferred the water of the springs of Wādī al-Qalt to the gardens of Jericho.

‘Ayn al-Qalt—the name in an Islamic tradition

Before proceeding, however, I wish to add to the information about ‘Ayn al-Qalt a curious report in the Muslim sources about a spring or a well bearing this exact name.

According to this report, which Yāqūt quotes from his sources, the following story was told by the wife of a certain Shurayk (or Sharīk) b. Ḥubāshah from the tribe of Numayr who participated in Caliph ‘Umar’s expedition to ash-Shām.

We halted at a place called al-Qalt—says the lady—and my husband, Shurayk, went to fetch some water. His bucket fell into al-Qalt. And because of the multitude of people (at the spring) he was unable to retrieve it. He was told to wait until nightfall; and when, in the evening he descended into al-Qalt he tarried there. While Caliph ‘Umar was preparing to move on, I came to him and reported about the place of my husband. ‘Umar decided to stay in the place for three days, and resumed his march on the fourth when Shurayk reappeared. The people asked him about his whereabouts, but he approached ‘Umar holding a leaf in his hand... He said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful I found in al-Qalt a passage, and a certain person came to me and led me into a land the like of which is not found among your lands, with gardens which bear no resemblance to the gardens of the people of this world... I took this leaf, and behold it is a leaf of a fig tree.’ Then ‘Umar called (the Jewish convert) Ka’b al-Aḥbār and said: ‘do you find anything in your Books about a certain person from our people (*ummah*) who would enter into paradise and then come out (alive)?’ ‘Yes’ he answered, ‘and if he happens to be present I can point him out.’ ‘He is present,’ said the Caliph. Examining them he (Ka’b) pondered, and said: ‘this is he’ (consequently)

‘Umar proclaimed that “the dress of Banū Numayr be green even to this day. (Yāqūt, 4: 386; *Marāṣid*, 1955:1116; Le Strange, 1890:292-293)

One has to differentiate between the legend and the fact, which both Yāqūt and the *Marāṣid* repeat about al-Qalt being a place in Ash-Shām (a general term which includes Palestine) with a source of water. The place and its topographical features could well serve as the stage for such a legend about the gate of the passage into paradise hidden in the rocky precipice of ‘Ayn al-Qalt. The legend did not remain in the wonderful spring in the wilderness. Sometime between the 13th and the 15th centuries it migrated from al-Qalt to Jerusalem. The name of its hero was slightly changed; he was now called Shurayk b. Hubāshah and also b. Ḥayyān from the tribe of Tamīm, and his unusual excursion to paradise began when he lost his bucket when fetching water from a well at the Ḥaram area on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The legend in its new version, recorded by Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and copied by Mujīr ad-Dīn (Le Strange, 1890: 198-199; Mujīr ad-Dīn, 2, 1973:13-14) omits also the presence of ‘Umar at the scene as well as the part played by the Jewish sage with his books, and clothes the legend with complete Muslim attire relating it to a tradition of the Prophet, and placing ‘Umar in central position as the final authority on the source of the leaf. The Prophet reportedly said “verily a man from among my *ummah* shall enter paradise walking alive on his feet” and ‘Umar, receiving the report in Madīnah, sent word to say that if the leaf did not dry but remained fresh, it was surely from paradise where nothing is exposed to change. (*Ibid.*)

The water system

The aqueducts that led the water of Wādī al-Qalt to the plain of Jericho are no doubt of a great importance. To this very day, they are one of the three main sources of water, which enabled Jericho to flourish as a rich agricultural settlement. The other sources of water are to the north of the city. The furthest is ‘Ayn al-‘Awjā (coll. ‘Ein el-‘ūjā) about 12km. to the north of Jericho, followed by ‘Ayn Nu‘aymah (coll. Ein N‘ēimeh) and ‘Ayn Dūk, and thereafter ‘Ayn as-Sultān (the Spring of Elisha) at the foot of the Tell of ancient Jericho. All these northern sources of water were connected by a complicated system of aqueducts, described already by Tyrwhitt-Drake in a special report in the *SWP*, 3:179. The other source of water was that of the two major springs of Wādī al-Qalt: ‘Ayn Fawwār and ‘Ayn Fārah (mentioned above in connection to the Hebrew name Perath) in addition to ‘Ayn al-Qalt. The water from these sources was transferred by the western aqueduct system to the plain in ancient as well as in modern times.

This highly sophisticated aqueduct system was studied in great detail by Zeev Meshel and David Amit who prepared the first complete map of all the various components of the system. They discovered a complex of channels, covered canals, tunnels, bridges, stone and pottery pipes that were built, rebuilt, repaired and changed courses since the Hasmonean Period until the early middle Ages. (Meshel and Amit, 1979:67ff.) Ten years later they published their findings in a further detailed study called "The water supply of the Cypros fortress," which shows the various stages of the development of the project from ancient times until the early middle Ages. This was, no doubt, one of the more sophisticated water-conducting systems in the country, next to the water systems of Jerusalem, Caesarea and Acre.

It is clear that such a complicated water system needed strong authority that had access to wealth and skilful human resources to build and to maintain it in good working order. Due to the difficult terrain involved, the aqueducts of Wādī al-Qalt required particular professional skills and exact engineering. It is not surprising that the inscription commemorating the reconstruction of the system in modern times (below no. 4) describes in flowery words the works of Ḥusaynī, the landlord who owned the extensive plantations near Jericho, as "inspired" by God, and the work of the "building" of the aqueduct as 'genius' ('*abqarī*'). Tyrwhitt-Drake prepared a description of the system of aqueducts in Wādī al-Qalt, which he published in the PEF *Quarterly Statement*. (1874:36-44) It was later copied in the *SWP*, 3:174ff. (The description of the canals is on pp. 179-180)

The detailed description in the relevant places in the *Survey* following Tyrwhitt-Drake's report is worth quoting here even now when we have at our disposal the detailed modern study of Meshel and Amit. This description deals with the canal aqueduct system, as well as with the bridges and other structures that supported it, as they looked at the later part of the 19th century, just before Ḥusaynī's reconstruction between 1880 and 1912. In quoting this material, the original spelling of the Arabic words was left unchanged. Since in the description of the canal system reference was made to the bridge over which the water was transferred from the northern bank of the Wādī al-Qalt to the southern one (one of originally five bridges that supported the system), the description of this bridge known as *Jisr ad-Dayr* (*Jisr ed-Deir*) will be quoted following the quotations relating to the canal system. (Cf. Meshel and Amit, 1989:239)

Five aqueducts were found in Wādī al-Qalt, two of which come from 'Ayn Fā'rah (Is. Gr. 180 137-N. Is. Gr. 230 637) and three from Wādī al-Qalt itself. The latter diverges at Jisr ad-Dayr, to which there will soon be a special

reference. The aqueducts of Wādī al-Qalt proper begin with

a single channel which runs 100 feet above the bridge, which is reached by a shoot, as already described. The channel runs along the side of the hill on the north. Small bridges of a single arch span the tributary ravines. There is also a continuation of the channel at the higher level, which supplies Deir el-Kelt, reaching as far as a cave above the monastery.

The channel, which runs from the bottom of the northern pier of Jisr ed-Deir, follows the north side of Wādī Kelt and turns north at the opening of the pass. It was traced to the neighbourhood of the Sugar Mills (*Tawāhin es-Sukker*), and in parts was found to have pipes like those of the aqueducts from 'Ain Fār'ah, laid in a cemented channel.

Two channels start from the southern pier of Jisr ed Deir; one at the level of the channel on the top of the bridge, one from the level at the bottom of the pier. They flow side by side at these two levels, one 40 feet beneath the other, along the south side of the valley. The upper aqueduct was not traced beyond the mouth of the pass, the lower ends in a birkeh near the mouth. They are of masonry throughout, somewhat resembling that of the aqueducts from Solomon's pools. Just opposite Deir el-Kelt is a fine wall of masonry, similar to that of Jisr ed-Deir, about 30 feet high, built against the cliff. The channel of the upper aqueduct runs on the top, and beneath there is a culvert through which the lower aqueduct runs, near the bottom of the wall. There is another small channel about ½ mile long, which joins the upper aqueduct at Jisr ed-Deir, coming from the south side of Wādy Kelt; The upper channel runs occasionally uphill, though never, of course, as high as its original level at the 'Ain Kelt; on the top of the wall it is roofed in with flat stones, like the channel of the aqueducts at Caesarea...

As far as can be judged, these aqueducts are of the same date with the bridge, which is probably older than the Crusading epoch. They are probably to be ascribed to Roman times, or perhaps the Byzantine period... The two aqueducts from 'Ain Fārāh run at a higher level, beside the road, south of Wādī Kelt. Their course is extremely devious at one point; the channels cross and re-cross one another. In places they are tunneled through the hill. The high level is carried across a ravine in one place on a massive bridge of rubble-work, faced with ashlar 120 feet long, and 35 feet high, with a pointed arch. (SWP, 3:227-228)

At the time when these words were written, this highly sophisticated system of aqueducts, channels, tunnels, and pipes had long been neglected, demolished in many parts, and ceased to serve its function. It was, however, traceable and repairable. As mentioned above, one of the impressive parts of the system was the bridge over the ravine, which is locally known as *Jisr ad-Dayr*—The Bridge of the Monastery. The following is its description.

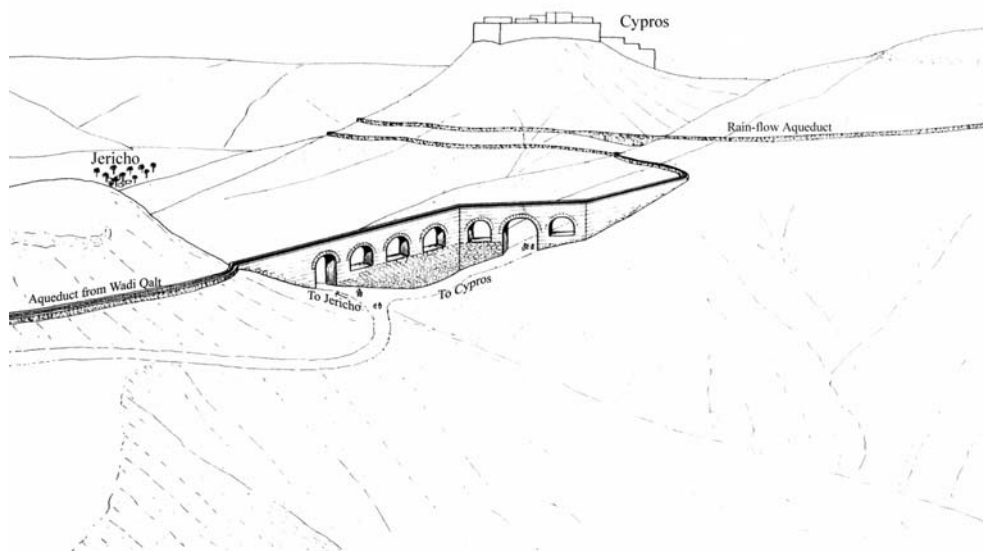
This fine bridge is connected with the system of aqueducts in Wādī el-Kelt. It spans the valley west of the Monastery of Deir el-Kelt.

The bridge is now broken. The total height of the water-channel above the bottom

of the valley is 70 feet. The main arch has a span of 46 feet, the smaller of 15 feet each. A roadway on arches crosses beside the bridge, 44 feet below the water channel. The arches are semi-circular, and the whole structure is of well-squared masonry... At the springing of the main arch there is a course of stones drafted with smooth boss and irregular draft, as in Byzantine buildings... the stones are from 1 foot to 2½ feet in length and 9 inches high, the size of the early Crusading masonry. The water channel is lined with cement, white and hard; beneath this is a layer of grey mortar full of ashes 1 inch thick, beneath this again one layer of broken pottery, and flints in cement 3 inches thick. This grey mortar is often found in Byzantine ruins, but also in Roman work. The arches are covered with stalactites formed by the dropping water, now dry and hard.

The aqueduct enters the bridge on the north side by a shoot at a slope of about 1 to 1, descending the face of the cliff from a level of about 100 feet higher. This shoot is also covered with stalactitic sediment. The channel approaches the bridge by a sharp curve. It appears that part of the water is conducted to the foot of the bridge by a shoot, the rest crosses, and by the southern piers there is another vertical shoot.

Thus two aqueducts start from the bridge south of the valley, and one from the north pier. There is no exact method of dating this bridge, but the round arches indicate that it is not later than the middle of the twelfth century, and it may originally be Roman work repaired at a later period. Visited 26th November 1873. (*SWP*, 3:205-206)



Pl. 23. Cypros: the large bridge and the main aqueduct (reconstruction)
courtesy Meshel and Amit

The excavations in the site of Hasmonean and Herodian Jericho, and the discovery of the aqueduct system which supplied the complex of the palaces

at Cypros, plantations, pools and gardens with water from Wādī al-Qalt (and other sources of water), supplied also the proofs that the bridge and the aqueducts connected with it are not of Roman origin. (Pl. 23) The flourishing of the monasteries in the Byzantine period, and the building projects of Justinian must have been accompanied by the reconstruction of the aqueducts system, which underwent, like the site of the Laura and the monastery, periods of deterioration and revival. From the accounts of Tristram in 1864, and of Clermont-Ganneau and the surveyors of the PEF in 1873, it is clear that at the second half of the century both the monastery and the aqueduct system were deserted and destroyed (Tristram, 1882:197).

The description of the miserable state of the few inhabitants of Jericho (Rīḥā) and the total lack of any interest of the Ottoman Government in contributing anything to the area explain this desolation. For in order to use the water of the springs around Jericho for supporting agriculture, there is need for intensive involvement of determined authority, which was lacking in the area throughout the end of the Mamlūk and the whole of the Ottoman period. Without changing the miserable state of the inhabitants in general, and establishing proper authority, even the attempt in 1848 of the governor of Jerusalem to revive the growing of indigo in Jericho was doomed to failure. The following words of Mehmet Pasha describing to Mgr. Mislin the failure of his project are indicative:

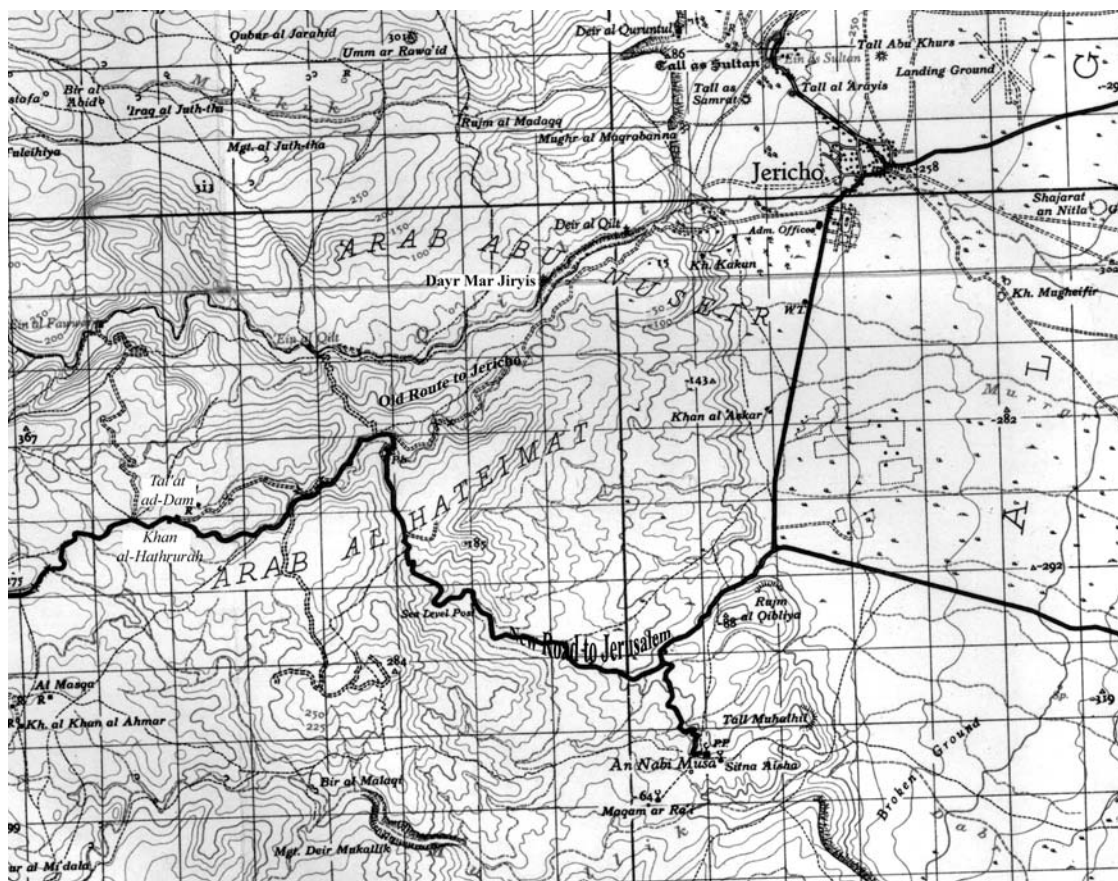
“I made various attempts in the Jordan Valley and Jaffa. In Jericho they planted, on my orders the indigo (*nīl*), and it grew wonderfully, but before it ripened, the Bedouins from the eastern side of the Jordan came, and destroyed everything, and burnt the houses of the peasants. I gave orders to repair the watch tower of Jericho; I stationed 50 soldiers there to protect the crop and the pilgrims, but there was need for this number of guards for each field. The tribes hate each other; they carry raids at nights; they cut the trees; they plunder fields and rob as much as they can...” (Quoted by Guérin, *Samarie*, (1):50).

Fifty years after this report, a project of reviving the place as a private enterprise by a local Jerusalemite landlord of the influential Ḥusaynī family did succeed. The inscription already mentioned commemorating this project describes two stages, one in 1297/1880 and the other in 1330/1912, in which the waters of Wādī al-Qalt were again harnessed to activate a mill and water (Ḥusaynī's) plantations in 'Aqabat Jabr at the same place where Herod had his extensive gardens watered by the same sources and by a similar watering system.

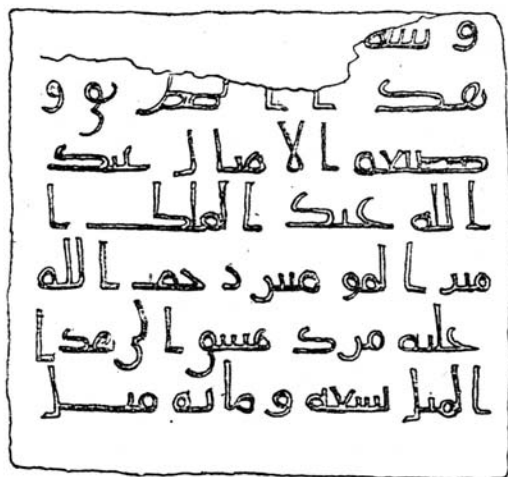
The inscriptions on the routes to Jerusalem

There are two inscriptions in this section, which represent the route from Damascus to Jerusalem at the beginning of the Umayyad period. The one is kept in the Monastery of St. George (Pl. 26), and the other was found at Khān al-Ḥathrūrah (Pl. 25). Both milestones could not have been found far from their original sites, one mile from each other, near this Khān, and the fortress of Tal'at ad-Dam overlooking it. (Figs. P17, P18)

The route from Jericho to Jerusalem has been described above. Until the paving of the present new road to Jericho it followed the ancient course, which passed along the southern side of the ravine of Wādī al-Qalt in a general westerly-southwesterly direction, and reaching Khān al-Ḥathrūrah turned westward to begin the ascent towards Jerusalem. (See map. Pl. 24)



Pl. 24. Map of the routes from Jericho to Jerusalem. (Below: the modern road. Top: the ancient and medieval route. Left: Khān al-Ḥathrūrah and the fortress of Tal'at ad-Dam). Scale: 1:100000



Pl. 25. No.1 Milestone from Khān al-Hathrūrah

CIA, I *Jerusalem*, "Ville," p. 21 (*Ibid.*)

Pl. 26. No. 2 Milestone from St. George

The inscriptions studied below refer to the route which led from Damascus to Jerusalem. In what follows I shall examine the course of this route, for which the epigraphic material is the only complete evidence. The repertoire of milestones and road construction inscriptions from the time of 'Abd al-Malik was substantially enriched with the discovery in 1968 of two milestones near Fīq in the Golan (Jawlān) Heights, on the main road from Damascus. Early in 1994, during the survey for the CIAP, I saw these two milestones together with more inscriptions from Fīq and other sites in the Golan, and recorded them. About five years later, Amikam Elad published the milestones. (Elad, 1999:33ff.)

Similar to the two milestones from the vicinity of Wādī al-Qalt (Pls. 25, 26) discussed below, also the ones from the Golan indicate the distance *from Damascus*. They add, however, important information to that supplied by the first four milestones from the time of 'Abd al-Malik, which Max van Berchem published (*CIA, Jerusalem*, "Ville," 1: 17-21), and the inscription commemorating the works of the same Caliph at 'Aqabat Fīq (*CIAP*, 1:102ff.), which I published in 1966. This information is the exact date that was preserved on them. They were both erected in 85/704. On one of them even the month Sha'bān, 85/8 Aug.—5 Sept. 704 was indicated; that is to say very near the Caliph's death.

In my earlier studies of the inscription commemorating the leveling of the mountain pass of Fīq ('Aqabat Fīq), I showed that its date was Muḥarram 73 (May-June 692). This means that the positioning of milestones was a long

process which took place after the construction of the road itself, and that the leveling of the mountain pass was only part of it. That the milestones were erected following road repairs on a wide scale can be learnt from the language of these inscriptions that speaks about the “repair” or “reconstruction” (*imārah*) of the roads and the “construction” or “making” (*sanʿah*) of the milestones.

The two inscriptions from the Golan will be republished later under the entry of Fīq (*q.v.*). At this point it is worth noting that, coming from the last year of ‘Abd al-Malik’s life, they represent a long project of this Caliph, which he must have regarded as one of the main tasks of his civil administration. As he could have learnt from his Roman predecessors, the building of roads was very necessary for maintaining the control of the central power over the provinces. It facilitated effective communication, both civil and military, and efficient organization, activation, and exploitation of the state intelligence services. ‘Abd al-Malik is famous in Islamic history for the restoration of the unity of the Empire (*jamāʿah* cf. Sharon, 1991:130-133 and n. 39) which he achieved when he succeeded to subdue, after almost ten years of military and political efforts, the separatists activity in various provinces, notably the eastern ones and the Ḥijāz. The building of imperially controlled roads was, obviously, a key component for the success of this policy, to which the special interest in Jerusalem must be added.

Now, since the ‘Aqabah inscription represents a work carried out by the Caliph’s uncle (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam), 12 years before the placing of the milestones in the same area, it would be safe to assume that the other milestones were also erected in the course of these twelve years, or thereabouts, when the roads between Damascus and the other major centres of the Empire received particular attention.

The centrality of Jerusalem in the Caliph’s religious policy probably explains the fact that at least four of the milestones were directly connected with it. Two of them, discovered at Abū Ghūsh (*CIAP*, 1:4) and Bāb al-Wād (*CIAP*, 2:4-5), bear the name of Īlīyā, the Roman name of Jerusalem, and the other two, discussed below, come from the Jerusalem—Jericho road.

On the last two and on the ones from Fīq the distance from the capital, Damascus, is indicated. This, theoretically at least, points to the state project of repairing roads and fixing milestones in the Roman-Byzantine style. Due to ‘Abd al-Malik’s policy towards Jerusalem, symbolized by the building of the Temple-like edifice of the Dome of the Rock, which was accompanied by intensive dissemination of traditions about it, it is not far fetched to assume that milestones were first erected along the routes connecting the

capital with the holy city, and of the latter with the coastal plain and the Sea Route, (this was also van Berchem's view. *Ibid.*, 24). The question whether milestones were actually placed on the other roads during 'Abd al-Malik's time, will remain open until more epigraphic material is discovered. There is enough evidence, however, that al-Walīd, 'Abd al-Malik's son and successor, continued his father's project, and placed milestones on some other main routes of the Empire. Although some of the Arabic sources speak about a wide range, all-comprising project (for example: "he built milestones on the roads" ("*banā al-amyāl fī at-turuq.*" *Uyūn in Fragmenta*, 1:5) one is allowed to wonder whether it is not an exaggerated statement, and that the "milestones" were not only connected with the *hajj* route to Mecca. (Elad, 1999:50; *CIA, Jerusalem*, "Ville," 1:23 n.5) The fact remains that in spite of the literary evidence about the maintenance of roads and the setting up of milestones by Walīd I, and some of his successors, the only milestones that we have until now from the Umayyad period belong only to 'Abd al-Malik, and the few from the early 'Abbāsīd period come from the *hajj* route from Iraq to Mecca.

The sources actually speak about Caliph al-Walīd erecting *manā'ir* (the variant *manābir* is a copyist mistake) on the roads, which means that he set up along the main roads elevated pillars or columns on top of which fire was lit at night (hence: *manār* and *manārah*—light tower). At the same time these tall pillars also served as land marks or "milestones"—*amyāl*). If one can rely on Azraqī (*Kitāb Akhbār Makkah*, 1, 1858:414), these "milestones"—*amyāl*—were three cubits tall, namely between 5 feet to 7 feet, or 1.5m. to over 2m. (Hinz, 1955:55-62) 'Abd al-malik's milestones, properly inscribed, were just about 2 feet or 0.60m. high. It is clear, however, that they could not have stood freely on the ground, especially since they were manufactured from slabs of stone. They must have been attached to or built into, a bigger structure, which could have been used for the lighting of fire signals as well.

The Damascus—Jerusalem route

The sources speak about the "*barīd*" system, which connected the capital Damascus with the various provinces of the empire. The Arabic literature, especially the genre of *awā'il*, that is to say stories and traditions about "pioneers"—"the first" who ("*awwal man*") did or invented something new—attributed to the institution of the "*barīd*"—the state postal and intelligence service—to Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān, the first Umayyad caliph. The main roads of the empire created the network of the system, and it is only reasonable that the milestones—*amyāl*—and the light posts—*manā'ir*—were erected along the *barīd* routes. (Cf. "*Barīd*" *EI* and *EP*; cf. Elad, 1999:48 n.

64, 49 n. 65; *CIA, Jerusalem, "Ville"* 1:23 and notes) I have grave reservations about taking seriously the stories of the *awā'il*—a literary genre aimed at entertainment. This element of entertainment also colours much of the evidence supplied by even the "historical sources"—including Ṭabarī and Balādhurī—that display a clear *adab* guise, and were compiled more than one and a half to two centuries after the events. However, it is far more reasonable to assign the reinstatement of the *barīd* system to 'Abd al-Malik—the unifier of the empire, and the true founder of its administrative, monetary, and religious systems. (Cf. Hāmeen-Anttila, 2000:115-118 and n. 13; Sharon, 1991:130f.)

The identity of the Muslim ruler who initiated the "*barīd*" system, which has Byzantine and Persian origins, is less important for our discussion than the map of the *barīd* network itself, that must have developed over a long period since the time of 'Abd al-Malik and his son Walīd. In this network, what were the routes that connected Damascus with Jerusalem?

The inscriptions (discussed here) mentioning the distance "*from Dimashq to this mīl*" were found near the main Jerusalem—Jericho road. Some two miles to the east of Khān al-Ḥathrūrah, the authors of the *SWP*, 3:192 and M. de Saulcy (*Voyage autour de la Mēr morte*, 2:129-134) noticed an un-inscribed milestone (which, because of its round shape, the local Arabs named *Dabbūs al-'Abd*—the Club of the Black Slave, or *Dabbūs ash-Shaytān*—the Club of the Devil). They, as well as Clermont-Ganneau, identified it as a Roman Milestone. Clermont-Ganneau accorded it much attention and a rather long discussion, arguing that in addition to *Dabbūs al-'Abd* there was near Khān al-Ḥathrūrah ("Ḥathrūr" in his description) another remnant of a Roman milestone. Referring to 'Abd al-Malik's milestone he remarks that the Caliph was only following the existing Roman system of roads, as well as imitating their "*milliaria* as he did the coinage of the *Rūm*." (*AR*, 1, 1896:33-36 and notes. In the *RAO*, however, he says that the "Roman milestones" belonged to the "*bornage*" of 'Abd al-Malik. *RAO*, 1, 1888:205).

However, as van Berchem pointed out, none of the milestones was found actually *in situ* (*CIA, Jerusalem, "Ville,"* 1:24), just as the two other milestones—from Abū Ghūsh (*q.v.*) and Bāb al-Wād (*q.v.*)—that were also moved from their original place more than once. The same can be said about the two milestones found at Fīq. What is rather interesting about the six milestones hitherto discovered is not only the fact that they all belong to the time of 'Abd al-Malik, but also that they come in pairs: three groups of two inscriptions which originally followed each other. That is to say, three pairs of consecutive milestones, one mile apart. The milestone from Abū Gūsh marked the 7th mile

from Jerusalem, and the milestone from Bāb al-Wād marked the 8th mile. The milestones from St. George's monastery and Khān al-Ḥathrūrah marked the 108th (or the 107th) and the 109th mile from Damascus respectively. The two milestones from Fīq mark the distance of 52 and 53 miles from Damascus. One case is a coincidence, two cases may be a "double coincidence;" (to use van Berchem's expression, *ibid.*, 26) a triple coincidence, one must admit, seems rather unusual. The only possible explanation for this occurrence is that whoever removed these milestones, for a secondary usage in some other construction work, was aware of their proximity to each other: when he found one he did not have to go too far to get the other. Later, when the stones were removed again, and partly destroyed in the process, and the builders reshaped them for their purposes, they were also used in different buildings, and in separate sites. In the case of the two milestones from the road to Jericho it is very possible that the two neighbouring milestones were never used together and that they had been removed not too far away from their original sites. These facts must be taken into consideration when attempting to figure out the route that connected Damascus with Jerusalem. There are three possibilities.

1. The route via Trans-Jordan: Damascus—Nawa—Dar'ah—Jarash (Gerasa)—aṣ-Ṣalt—across the Jordan to Jericho—via the ascent of Adummīm to Jerusalem.
2. The route along the Jordan Valley to the west of the Jordan: Damascus—Kuswah—Fīq—Baysān—Jericho—Jerusalem.
3. The route following, on the whole, the classical "Sea Route:" Damascus—Kuswah—Jāsim—Fīq—Tiberias (or Beth Shean, Baysān)—Lajjūn—Nābulus—Jerusalem (or alternatively: Tiberias—Lajjūn—Qalansuwah—Ramlah—Jerusalem. (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 78-79)

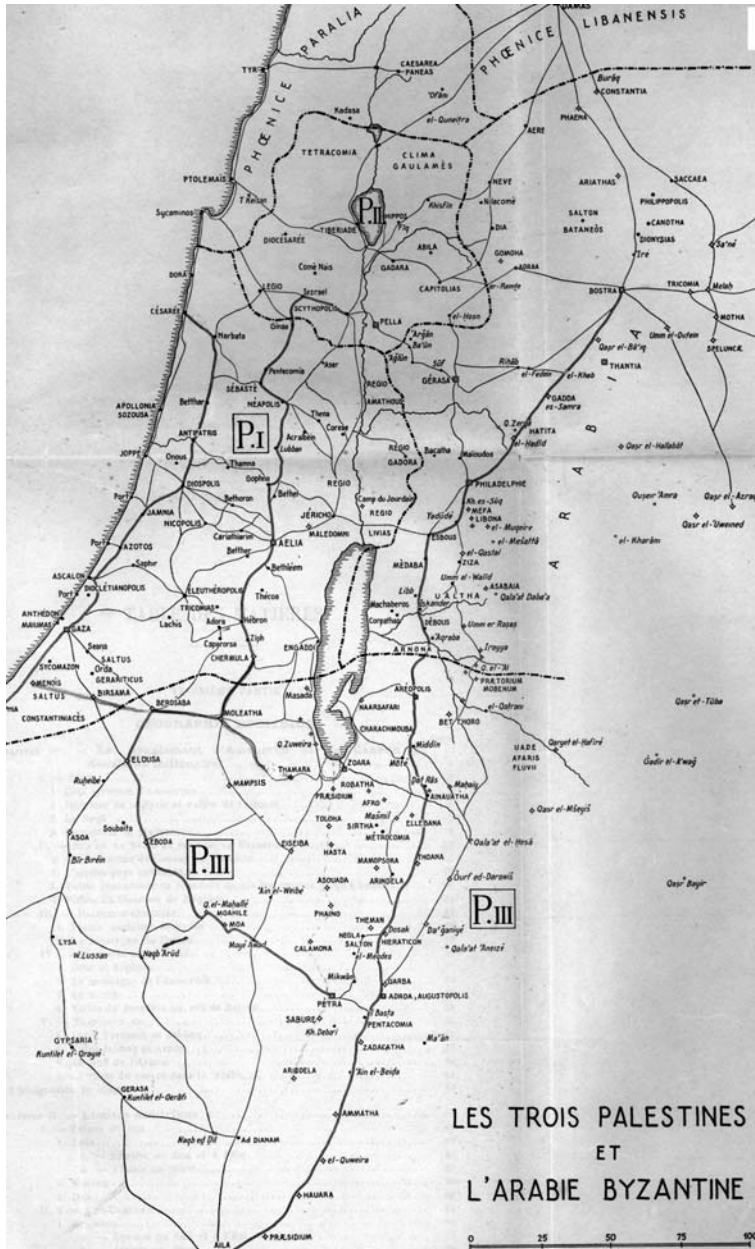
The first route, which came from Damascus southwards to Ṣalt via Dar'ah (ancient Edre'ī) and thence across the Jordan to Jericho and Jerusalem is preferred by Clermont-Ganneau, who was the first to study the milestone from Khān al-Ḥathrūrah. He does not think that the stone was moved too far from its original site, and that this is the route designated by the inscription. The distance of 109 miles mentioned in this inscription (as well as 108 or 107 miles in the sister one, from the monastery) corresponds well to the distance between the Khān (and the Monastery) and Damascus, which is 220km. as a straight line on the map, and around 260km. following the road that "must have left Damascus descending south-southeast, then keeping on the east side of the Jordan until the highland of Ṣalt, it crossed the river in front of Jericho and reached Jerusalem passing by Khān al-Ḥathrūrah." (RAO, 1:204)

Since the Arab milestones belong to the first century of the Muslim era, and since all the Arab geographical sources represent the 'Abbāsīd period, the earliest almost 200 years after 'Abd al-Malik, we must rely on the information about the Roman-Byzantine roads in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The Umayyad period represents direct continuation of the Roman-Byzantine map of communication, the general features of which are still valid to this day. Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion advocates the route which connected Damascus with Philadelphia ('Ammān). This route had a branch which left it at Gerasa (Jarash) and following a southwestern direction reached aṣ-Ṣalt (Avi-Yonah, 1963:84 map). Today this is the main road which connects Jericho with aṣ-Ṣalt and 'Ammān; crossing the Jordan over the Allenby Bridge. It was a major route during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods as well. (*Atlas of Israel*, IX, 11)

The second option: the Roman-Byzantine route that connected Beth Shean (Baysān, Scythopolis) directly with Jericho seems to be a good possibility. The route is marked on Peutinger's map. (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. K. Miller; Abel, 2, 1938:227; Avi-Yonah, 1963:91 quoting Thomsen who in 1917 prepared a detailed description of the Roman roads and listed carefully the Roman milestones discovered along these roads. *ZDPV*, 1917:1-103) Any one of these two routes, the one via Trans-Jordan, and the one along the Jordan Valley to the west of the Jordan, could be the route to which the milestones may be attached. The distance is more or less the same whichever route is chosen.

The discovery of the milestones at Fīq seems to suggest that the route via Beth Shean (Baysān) may be favoured. This if we regard all the "road inscriptions" of 'Abd al-Malik as a homogeneous repertoire. In such a case the road from Damascus to Beth Shean, as we know from the Arabic geographical sources, followed the following course: Damascus—Kuswah—Jāsim—Bayt Ra's—Fīq—Ṭabariyyah. (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *BGA*, 6:78) While one branch of the road turned northward to Tiberias, the other turned southwards to Beth Shean (Baysān) and Jericho, with a branch turning southwestward to Nābulus, and joining the main road running along the central mountain ridge, along the watershed towards Jerusalem, and Hebron.

This route, which was suggested as the third option for the reference of the milestones, although cannot be ruled out, seems very improbable, not only because it is longer than the two other routes, but also because it does not come near the road to Jericho. In such a case the milestones had to be brought to Ṭal'at ad-Dam from far, 108 and 109 miles "from Damascus," on the long route, for no reason. (On this route see Abel, 2, 1938:226 "VI.—Artère centrale" and map Pl. 27)



Pl. 27. Abel's map of Palestine and Trans-Jordan under the Byzantines (Abel 2, 1938)

Khān al-Hathrūrah (or al-Hathrūr)

The Arabic derivation of the name is questionable. The verb *hathara* is connected with something becoming grain-like. Thus the verb is used to denote granulated honey or fruit syrup (*dibs*) as well as pustules around the eye or the mouth or any hard berries and green grapes (*Lisān s.v. ḥ-th-r*). The

local Bedouins call the whole area around the *Khān—Ard al-Ḥathrūrah*—"The Land of Ḥathrūrah." They gave me two explanations to the word: one that it means a territory which has many hills or many summits, the other that it refers to the red fragile rock of the area. I suspect that the first explanation was invented on the spot to satisfy my curiosity with a positive answer. The second one, which I obtained sometime later, is probably the correct one because there is another territory along the southern part of the Dead Sea which also bears the name of al-Ḥathrūrah. It extends between the deep ravines of Nāḥal Ḥemār (Wādī al-Muḥawwāt) and Nāḥal Ye'elīm (Wādī Umm al-Bīdūn)—Is. Gr. 175 060 175 073 to Is Gr. 180 060 180 071. Both territories show similar type of sedimentary rocks, and it is this feature of the land and rock formation which gave its name to both areas. One may speculate the possibility that the broken terrain with its many scattered ball-like rocks that are popularly called "potatoes," remind the viewer of pustules or scattered grains of unripe dates or grapes, but this is a mere guess.

Erroneously the Khān is called al-Khān al-Aḥmar—the Red Caravanserai, mixing its name with the name of another site about two and a half kilometers to the south west of Khān al-Ḥathrūrah known as Khirbat al-Khān al-Aḥmar. (On the old source of this confusion see Clermont-Ganneau's remarks in *AR*, 2:35 note) The latter is the site of the monastery of St. Euthymios the Great (Is. Gr. 1819 1333) that was established as a Laura in 428, and dedicated as a monastery in 482, undergoing many reconstructions throughout the centuries. The monastery was active until the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. It was then deserted and was used as a Khān for the Muslim pilgrims to Nabī Mūsā with the name of al-Khān al-Aḥmar. (Meimaris, 1989)

In the site of Khān al-Ḥathrūrah the Mamlūks established around 1315 a Khān, and the place was known by name of Qaryat al-Kathīb—the village of the (sand) hill; definitely an appropriate name for this elevated place. (*Atlas of Israel*, IX/11) This name, however, has far greater significance than just topography. It is connected with the growing importance, during the Mamlūk period, of the site locally known as Maqām an-Nabī Mūsā identified with the tomb of Moses. In the year 668/1269-70 Baybars built a shrine in the place, which had been known before, though there is no mention of any previous building on the tomb. (Mayer, 1933:31 quoting 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, ed. Zeki Pasha, 1:176) The sources that describe the building of Baybars add that "he built a domed chamber and a mosque over the tomb of Moses, and it is near *al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar*, and he endowed it with a *waqf*." (*Idem.*, 1933:30 quoting al-Kutubī)

Al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar appears in well-known traditions ascribed to the Prophet, and included in all the major, and most venerated, collections of *ḥadīth*. The Prophet, describing to his disciples the circumstances of Moses' death, mentioned the latter's burial place saying: "had I been there I would have shown you his tomb to the side of the road below the heap of the red sand." (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Janā'iz*, 69 (68); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Faḍā'il*, 157, 158) In another tradition the Prophet said that during his night journey (*isrā'*) he passed by Mūsā, who was standing and praying at his tomb near *al-kathīb al-aḥmar*. (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Faḍā'il*, 164: مررت على موسى ليلة أسري بي عند الكتيب الأحمر وهو قائم يصلي في قبره) Leo Aryeh Mayer who published the inscription that commemorates the building of the Shrine of Maqām an-Nabī Mūsā (Mayer, 1933: 27-32) remarked: " 'the heap of the red sand' was identified with a red hill on the Jerusalem—Jericho road (kilometer 19.150) on the top of which the crusaders fort Turris Rubea was built." (*Idem.*, 1933:29 and copious notes) This explains both the selection of the name Qaryat al-Kathīb for the Mamlūk Khān and the migration of the name—*al-aḥmar* to this Khān as well.

The ancient remnants discovered during the latest excavations (carried out by I. Magen), showed that the place, lying half way between Jerusalem and Jericho, was used as a road post from ancient times until the present. We have mentioned that during the Crusaders Period the Templars protected it with a fortress, which kept the ancient Biblical name of Ma'ale Adummīm. (*Maldouin, Maledoim, Tour Maledoin—Chastel Rouge, Cisterna Rubea(?) AR*, 2, *loc. cit.* Smith, 1968:181 note; Hoade, 1984:473—474) Its fate was very much connected with the ability of the local authorities to control the route and look after it. In the period between the fall of the Crusaders and the firm establishment of the Mamlūk rule it must have deteriorated, but then it revived at the beginning of the 14th century when it was built as a proper Khān ("*al-Kathīb*"). In the 19th century the Egyptian Ibrāhīm Pasha built it again (*SWP*, 3:207 and note), but the report of the *Survey (ibid.)* speaks about "a few piers and some of the walls still are standing." The report adds that on the other side of the wall there are two or three small caves. The guards who were posted at the road until the middle of the 20th century used some of these caves (Fig. P21). In one of these caves "a stone with Arabic inscription was found." (*Ibid.*) This is no doubt the Milestone of 'Abd al-Malik, which was transferred around 1884 to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. The ruined Khān was again built as a Turkish Police post in 1903, but it was bombarded and ruined in 1917 during the war. It was rebuilt in modern times and has been used as a police check post.

1

Milestone

65-86/685-705

A slab of marble 0.39x0.31m. the top and right parts broken and lost; discovered in Dayr Mār Jiryis in 1896. 6 visible lines of which only the left parts (about the last two thirds of the lines) were preserved. Monumental, angular, early Umayyad script typical of ‘Abd al-Malik’s inscriptions. Medium size letters, incised, no points and no vowels (Fig. 15 Courtesy IAA, and Pl. 26 van Berchem). Publication: *CIA, Jerusalem, “Ville”* 1:19f. (No.3), and note 1; *RCEA*, 1:15 (no. 16)

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ١) أمر بعمارة هذا الطريق وصنعة الأمـ[يال عبد ٢) (الله عبد ١] الملك أمير ٣) [المؤمنين رحمت (! ٤) (الله عليـ[ه من دمشق ٥) (لى هـ[ذا الميل ٦) ستة أ] ميال ومائة ميل

Basmalah. There is no god but Allah alone; He has no companion. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and give him peace. Has ordered the repair of this road, and the construction of the milestones the servant of Allah, ‘Abd al-Malik, the Commander of the Faithful. May Allah’s mercy be on him. From Damascus to this milestone (there are) one hundred and six miles.

L.6. As van Berchem remarked, and as one can see in the photograph (supplied by the IAA archives), the word *amyāl* (only the *alif* of which is missing) is very clear. Since this word is in the plural the numbers preceding it must be between 3 and 10. Max van Berchem preferred the number 7 for the missing miles units. His decision was based on the assumption that the original sites of this and the following inscription (no. 2) were not far from the places of their discovery next to the Monastery and the Khān respectively.

2

Milestone

65-86/685-705

A slab of marble 0.41x0.40m. the top part broken and lost; Discovered in 1884 in the ruins of Khān al-Ḥathrūrah, and transported to the Ottoman Museum (Çinili Köşk) in Istanbul. 7 lines Monumental, angular, early Umayyad script typical of ‘Abd al-Malik’s inscriptions. Medium size letters, incised, no points

and no vowels (Pl. 25 van Berchem). Publication: Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO*, 1:201-213; *CIA, Jerusalem*, “*Ville*” 1:15f. (No.1); *RCEA*, 1:13 (no. 14)

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم] [أمر بعمارة] ٢) هذا الطريق و ٣) صنعة الأميال عبد ٤) الله عبد الملك ٥) مير المؤمنين رحمت (!) الله ٦) عليه من دمشق الى هذا ٧) الميل تسعة ومائة ميل

Basmalah. There is no god but Allah alone; He has no companion. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and give him peace. Has ordered the repair of this road, and the construction of the milestones the servant of Allah, ‘Abd al-Malik, the Commander of the Faithful. May Allah’s mercy be on him. From Damascus to this milestone (there are) one hundred and nine miles.

Studying a Roman milestone from ‘Ajlūn, Clermont-Ganneau was sure that the route which ‘Abd al-Malik milestones delineated “had as precedent the route and milestones of the Roman emperors,” which must have been “maintained or renovated in the interval by the Byzantines.” (*RAO*, 1:211) Such an assumption is not far fetched. This is to say that even if the milestones were moved from their original sites, especially the one found at the monastery, they could not have been moved more than a few miles. I shall show that inscription no. 2, found at Khān al-Hathrūrah, was discovered, more or less, *in situ*.

The very long discussion of both Clermont-Ganneau and van Berchem about the exact length value of the Umayyad mile, based on the assumption that the milestones were originally posted near the place of their discovery, is reasonable. (*RAO*, 1:204ff; *CIA, Jerusalem*, “*Ville*,” 1:26ff.) However, the attempts at finding an exact *universal* value for the Arab-Umayyad mile are doomed to failure, simply because in reality there was no such universal value, even if in theory it is not difficult to find it. (Hinz, 1955:63, but *cf.* Elad, 1999:47- 48)

The literary sources are not very helpful, not only because they represent the ‘Abbāsid period, but also because the information supplied about in refers to distances in terms of day’s in march (*marḥalah*). Even when distances are measured by miles, such as in the case of the information supplied by Ibn Khurradādhbih (p.78), who wrote about 230/845, and who in his position as the chief of post and intelligence should have known best, the length of the mile oscillates between 1500 to 2400 m. (Elad, *loc. cit.*) Studying at length the two Umayyad milestones from Fīq (*q.v.*), and the information about the Arab mile, Elad proposed that the Umayyad mile was “about 2285m.” (*Ibid.*, 46)

His conclusion is based on the assumption that the two milestones were

originally posted around Fīq—the place of their discovery. Since the distance between Damascus and Fīq in the Umayyad period was about 120km. (actually today—via Quneitra—it is 123km), and since the two milestones indicate the distances of 52 and 53 miles from Damascus respectively, the simple division of 120 by 52.5 (the mean figure of 52 and 53) give the result of 2,285.714m. The truth of the matter is that these calculations, accurate as they may look, do not permit general conclusion about a universal value of the Arab mile. When real, not theoretical distances are concerned, there was no reliable technical method of measuring the exact length of long distances “on the ground.”

This is the reason for the diverse value of the Arab mile when the information (gathered from milestones and literary sources) is compared with the actual length of the relevant routes. Based on such comparison, I have shown (following van Berchem) for instance, that the milestone found at Abū Ghūsh (*q.v.*) represented a mile of about 2000m.

There was, of course, the Roman heritage and probably remnants of the Roman system of milestones, but now we know that by the time of the arrival of Islam, the Roman system was already forsaken. Although the Roman name—*mīl*—was retained for the Arab unit, it had a different value, and therefore, even if some memories of the Roman system still existed they could not be of much help. On the other hand, the routes that had been delineated by the Roman milestones retained their courses, and remained active in the subsequent centuries. Most of these ancient Roman (even pre-Roman) tracks remained the basis for the network of modern roads.

All the inscription-based calculations regarding the Arab mile, however, stand or fall on the assumption that five of the six milestones from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik hitherto discovered at Fīq, Khān al-Ḥathrūrah, Dayr Mār Jiryis, and Abū Ghūsh were found at the original site or very near it. As far as the milestones measuring the distance from Damascus, Clermont-Ganneau calculated a mile of 2466m. This gave him a distance of 269km. from the Umayyad capital to Khān al-Ḥathrūrah. (*JA*, 8^{em} serie, 9:472f; *AR*, 2:35 n.2) Max van Berchem rejects the figures of 1950, 1969, 1973, and 1848 to 2353 meters proposed by various scholars (*CIA, Jerusalem*, “*Ville*” 1:27 and notes 1,2,3), as well as the high figure of 2592 proposed by Lagrange, (*RB*, 3, 1894:136f; 6, 1897:104f; *CRAIBL*, 24, 1896:306), concluding that the value of the mile “does not deviate much from 2500 m.” (*CIA, Jerusalem*, “*Ville*” 1: 29, and n.3)

Since there are now four milestones measuring the route “from Damascus,” and since this route, whether following the course east, or west, of the

Jordan, was about the same length, it is worthwhile examining whether there is near uniformity of the mile-value used *for this particular route*.

The exact distance between Khān al-Ḥaṭhrūrah and Damascus via Jericho—Beth Shean (Baysān)—‘Aqabat Fīq—is 249km. Assuming that the 109th milestone was posted at the Khān or very near it, then the mile equals 2,284.40369 m. This figure conforms with astonishing accuracy to Elad’s calculations that established a mile of 2,285.71428; the difference between the two figures being the negligible 1.31061 m. If, therefore, the Jerusalem—Damascus milestones represent a uniform mile of just below 2,300 m., that raises a question about the exact site of the milestone found at the monastery. If the stone was originally placed somewhere along the route opposite the monastery, its distance from Khān al-Ḥaṭhrūrah would then be little more than 7 km. (not 5 km as calculated by van Berchem), that is to say 3 miles almost to the dot. At this point along the road stands the ancient water cistern of Bayt Jabr al-Fawqānī, or Manzil Jabr (in the map, Is. Gr. 1390 1894. Fig. P28. Meshel-Amit, 1989:230-233), and from it there is a path which leads to the monastery. In such a case the missing digit in the fragment of inscription no. 1 above should be *six*. The milestone should, therefore, be the 106th from Damascus, rather than the 107th as proposed by van Berchem (*CIA, Jerusalem, “Ville,”* 1:29, confirming Lagrange) or the 108th proposed by Germer-Durand, (*Cosmos*, 18 April 1896 quoted in *CIA, Jerusalem, “Ville,”* 1:19 n.1). That the milestone from Khān al-Ḥaṭhrūrah was found, more or less, *in situ* seems very logical. 109 miles multiplied by 2.285 km. equals 249.06 km. which is the exact distance to Damascus.

As far as the milestone from the monastery is concerned, here one cannot be sure, because it could have been brought there from anywhere along the route, within a reasonable distance of 3-4 miles either way. Theoretically, therefore, the missing digit could be anything from 3 to 10 except for the already employed 9, but I am convinced that it is 6.

There is one remaining problem regarding these two milestones, for which I have no satisfactory answer: why is the grammatical construction indicating the number of miles different between the two inscriptions, which seem to have been produced by the same artist or at least at the same workshop? In milestone no. 2 the number 109 is expressed as one unit (تسعة ومائة), and in milestone No. 1 enough text was preserved to indicate that the number was divided into units and one hundred. The units are followed, as it should be, by “miles” in the plural—*amyāl*—and the “hundred” by “mile”—*mīl*—in the singular.

That both inscriptions were produced by the same artist or in the same

workshop can be easily observed from the similarity of the orthography, especially from the writing of the word *dimashq* where the letter *dāl* was incised in both inscriptions distinct from the last three letters of the word.

From the comparison of all six existing milestones, it is possible to arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The formula used for the milestones was not rigid, and deviations were allowed to the extent that some inscriptions (such as these from Fīq) supply the date of the project and the identity of the person responsible for it.
2. There is a clear difference between the paleography of each one of the three groups of inscriptions. The inscriptions from the vicinity of the Monastery of St. George, depicting the distance from Damascus, are less sophisticated than the ones indicating the distance from Īliyā (Jerusalem). The latter display near perfect letters and ornamentation reminding of ‘Abd al-Malik’s inscription at the Dome of the rock.
3. The inscriptions from Fīq are a class of their own not only because of their formulae but also because of the basalt stone on which they were engraved, impairing the elegance of the script.
4. It is clear that there was no uniform value for the Arab mile when real distances were measured. However, it seems that in measuring the distance from Damascus to Jerusalem a particular effort was made, and the system of miles was pretty uniform.
5. The milestones indicating the distance “from Jerusalem” seem to represent a different system and a different mile value.

Restoration of the Monastery

Bi-lingual Greek-Arabic inscription commemorates construction work which took place in the monastery. From the language of the inscriptions, both the Greek and the Arabic, it is difficult to know whether they commemorate wide scale construction works in the monastery or just the gate. (Pl. 28; Fig. P28) The following is the *Survey*’s description of the inscription and its location. “A low door scarcely high enough to creep through is surmounted by a flat lintel, above which is a low relieving arch, the stones are drafted and well cut, above this a very barbarous inscription in Arabic and Greek, and a loophole over the inscription.” (SWP, 3:196-197; cf. *ibid.*, 3:179)

Clermont-Ganneau remarked that the bilingual inscription “is probably of a late date. The Greek portion is most incorrect in orthography and syntax, and is moreover carved in slovenly fashion and difficult to decipher.” He published in the *PEF, Quarterly Statement*, (1874:89,90), two attempts at interpreting the inscription. Father Germer-Durand published his own reading of the Greek part (*RB*, July 1892:442) unaware of Clermont-Ganneau’s reading 18 years earlier. Germer-Durand read in the last line of the inscription the date of 12 March 950. This line is the most difficult to interpret, and Clermont-Ganneau remarked that Germer-Durand’s reading “is mere

guesswork, and seems to me more than doubtful.” (*AR*, 2:31) Otherwise, with some minor differences, both scholars read the inscription pretty much the same. However, the remarks of Clermont-Ganneau about the last line of the Greek part are very convincing, which rules out the acceptance of the date of 950 CE as the date of the inscription. However, Germer is not suggesting the year 950 of the Common Era but of the Martyrs Era (see below).



Pl. 28. Gate and inscription drawn and copied for the *SWP*.

3

Construction text

March EM 950/1234??

Two panels: the left one 0.50x0.30m. with a Greek inscription of 5 lines; the right one, 0.40x0.30m. with an Arabic inscription of 5 lines in crude pseudo-angular script; incised. Now kept in the Notre Dame de France museum. (Figs. 16, 17) IAA (PAM) squeeze: S.342. Publication: Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, 2:30-31; G. Germer-Durand, *RB*, 1892:442; Coll. van Berchem, 'Ayn al-Qalt (Dēr al-Kalt) env.24 and carnet 2: 47-50; *Cosmos* no. 402:244. Reproduction:

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, 2:31; *SWP*, 3:196.

Clermont-Ganneau:

(1) *ANEKENISΘH H ΠΑ(ΡΟΥΣΑ/ΛΑΙΑ/ΣΑ) (2) ΜΟ(NH) ΔΙΑ Χ^(Ε)ΙΡΟΣ
Ι(3)ΒΡΑΧΙΜ (ΚΑΙ) ΤΟΥΣ Α(4)ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ Α^Υ ΤΟΥ Ε ? (5) ΧΠ? ΝΙΒ Π (or
ΠΙ) ΙΤ^ΣΗΥΟ Υ^Ε ΓΕ ΡΑ

Germer-Durand:

(1) ANEKENIΘH H ΠΑΡ(ΟΥΣΑ) (2) ΜΟ(NH) ΔΙΑ ΧΙΡΟΣ Ι(3) ΒΡΑΧΙΜ
(ΚΑΙ) ΤΟΥΣ Α(4)ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ε(ΤΕΙ) Β(ΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ) (5) Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ)
Π(ΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ) ΝΙΒ Μ(ΑΡ)Τ(ΙΟΥ) ΤΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ(ΝΟΥ) ΓΕΡΑΣ(Ι)-
Μ(ΟΥ)

(١) هذا <لـ>شغل عمله ابرا ٢) هيم وخوته (!) صبيان ٣) موسا (!) الجفناوي ٤)
رحمهم الله ورحم من قرا ٥) وقال امين

Greek: The (present/old/ whole) monastery has been restored by the hand of Ibrāhīm and his brothers [in the year of the reign of Christ the Almighty 950, the 12th of March, under the hegumen Gerasimos].

Arabic: Ibrāhīm and his brothers, the sons of Mūsā of Jifnā have done this work. May God have mercy on them as on him who shall read it and say: Amen.

Greek: L.1. The word Ἀνεκένισθη is for Ἀνεκαίνισθη. The reading of παροῦσα in the first line (“the present monastery”) is Germer-Durand’s suggestion; the other readings (“ancient” and “the whole”) were offered by Clermont-Ganneau. (*AR*, 2:31)

The Greek translation (modified by Uri Ben Horin) is based on the Clermont-Ganneau’s and Germer-Durand’s readings. The part between square brackets is the translation of Germer-Durand last line of the inscription, which had been rejected by Clermont-Ganneau as “guesswork” and “more than doubtful.” (*Ibid.*) If Germer-Durand’s reading, especially of the date, is even moderately right, we would have to conclude that the monastery underwent renovations during a period of relative peace between the Crusaders and the Muslims (see below), which is not impossible. However, it is difficult to ignore Clermont-Ganneau’s reservations seeing that the reconstruction of the whole line—notwithstanding the date—is based on a very few letters, and even Gremer himself wrote: “Les texts sont si mauvais que cette lecture ne peut être présentée que avec beaucoup de réserves.” (*RB*, 1892:442 n.1) The date of 950 indicated here is according to the Era of the Martyrs (EM) beginning with the reign of emperor Diocletian in (CE 284) in recognition of the severe persecution of the Christians under him and his colleagues Maximian and Galerius. Lagrange, (*RB*, 1892:443) does not contest Germer’s reading; on the contrary, although he has reservations about the reading of

the word indicating the month of March, he points out that Germer's reading seems to be confirmed by history. The reconstruction of the monastery in 1234 should be attributed to the reinstatement of the Christian rule in Jerusalem following the peace treaty between al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick II, which was in force until 1239. (Prawer, 1986 2: 186ff. and notes) The period of rest between the conclusion of the treaty and the Kh^wārizmians' invasion in 1244, was good time for the restoration of monasteries. (*RB*, *loc.cit.* and n. 1)

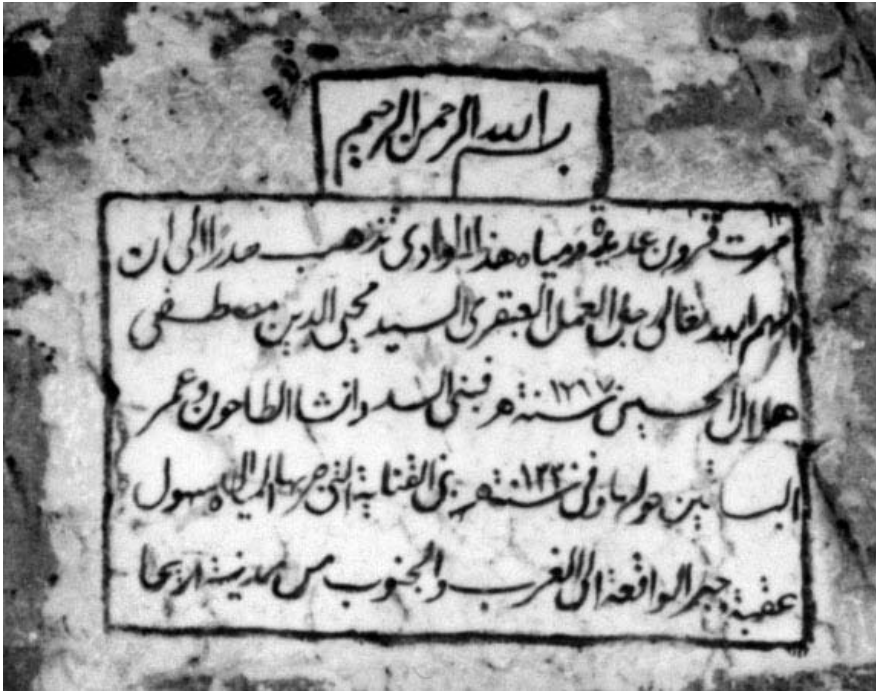
The Arabic text is no less crude than the Greek text. It is not only because of the provincial orthography but also because of the provincial, colloquial, language. The usage of the noun *shughl* (L.1) for the building instead of *bunā*, *imārah*, even *amal* (see above *q.v.* Dayr Ḥajlah), and the word *ṣubyān* (L.2) instead of *abnā*, although correct, demonstrate the colloquial features of the inscription. The plural *khwah* for *Ikhwah* could be either a mistake of the engraver who missed the *alef* here as he missed the *lām* in the second word—*اشغل*—instead of *الشغل*, or a reflection of a colloquial usage. I tend to prefer the second possibility. The language seems to me completely vernacular reflecting the level of the knowledge (or ignorance) of formal Arabic in a village (Jifnah) populated mostly by Christians that for more than three generations were born and lived under Christian rule. I am almost sure that this is how the inscription was read: *hādhā-ishshughol 'amalūh ibrahīm ukhiwtōh ṣibyān mūsā-ʿljifnāwī raḥamhom 'llāh uraḥam man qara uqāl amīn*. When rendered like this, in the colloquial speech, there is no need to correct even one word in the inscription.

The Arabic inscription begins with the information about the work without an introductory formula. The builders were Christians. This is clear not only from the cross preceding the Greek version of the inscription, which in itself is a proof for the identity of the builders, but also from the fact that their village of origin was Jifnah which remained a Christian village till modern times. When Guérin visited it in 7 July 1863 he found in it two communities: Greek Orthodox and Roman-Catholics. (Guérin, *Judée, Samarie*, 1:153) In 1856 a Latin Parish was founded there with the Rosary Sisters teaching in the girl's school from 1895. (Hoade, 1984:546)

Restoration of the aqueduct

1297/1880 and 1330/1912

The inscription was cut into the rock of the western perpendicular cliff of the canyon of 'Ayn al-Qalt, about 4 m. above the ground. (Fig.18) Its main part is enclosed in a rectangular frame 0.85x0.52m. above which a smaller frame 0.15x0.42m. encloses the *Basmalah*. 6 lines in monumental, modern *nasta'liq*; full points no vowels. (Pl. 29) Publication—Hebrew translation only: Y. Ziv, 1988:87-88.



Pl. 29. The inscription of 'Ayn al-Qalt (courtesy Y. Ziv)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) مَرَّتْ قُرُونٌ عَدِيدَةٌ وَمِيَاهُ هَذَا الْوَادِي تَذْهَبُ هَدْرًا إِلَى أَنْ (٣) أَهْمَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى رَجُلَ الْعَمَلِ الْعَبْقَرِيَّ السَّيِّدَ مُحِبِّي الدِّينِ مُصْطَفَى (٤) هَلَالِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ سَنَةِ ١٢٩٧ هـ — فَبَنَى السَّدَّ وَأَنْشَأَ الطَّاحُونَ وَعَمَّرَ (٥) الْبَسَاتِينَ حَوْلَهَا وَفِي سَنَةِ ١٣٣٠ هـ — بَنَى الْقَنَايَةَ الَّتِي جَرَّ بِهَا الْمِيَاهُ إِلَى سَهُولِ (٦) عَقْبَةِ جَبْرِ الْوَاقِعَةِ إِلَى الْغَرْبِ وَالْجَنُوبِ مِنْ مَدِينَةِ أَرِيحَا.

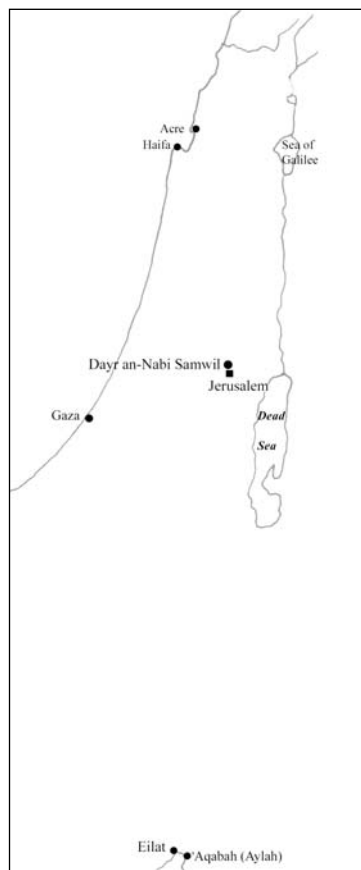
Basmalah. Many centuries passed while the water of this vale were going waste until Allah inspired the genius man of action the *Sayyid* Muḥyī ad-Dīn Muṣṭafā Hilāl al-Ḥusaynī in the year 1297 (=1880) of the Hijrah and he constructed the dam and established the mill, and built the gardens around them. And in the year 1330 (=1912) of the Hijrah he constructed the channel by the means of which he drew the water to the plains of ‘Aqabat Jabr that extend to the west and south of the town of Jericho.

L.5. The word قنایة instead of قنّاة is influenced by the colloquial usage.

Muḥyī ad-Dīn Muṣṭafā Hilāl al-Ḥusaynī had only to repair the water system of Herod and his successors in order to water a large area which he acquired near Jericho, and which is known to this day as Mazra‘at al-Ḥusaynī. His two-stage project included first, the building of the water mill, up the valley, not far from the source of the spring of Qalt, in 1297/1880; and second, the reactivation of the Herodian aqueducts in 1330/1912, which Ḥusaynī attributes to his being a “genius man of action.” The complex of the water mill was definitely his new work unlike the “canal.” The ancient water system was restored to water the Ḥusaynī estates which were considerable in size and added much to the wealth and prestige of this famous Jerusalemite family that competed for the leadership of the city. In time, however, it also served the cultivated land of the local farmers of Jericho in general. In the beginning most of the water went to the Ḥusaynīs but with the passage of time greater portion was left for general usage. The ancient water system, described above, is based on the detailed study of Z. Meshel and D. Amit. In general there were a few aqueducts and canals that led water from the sources in the west to Jericho. The aqueducts passing over bridges and through tunnels, led the water from ‘Ayn Fawwār and ‘Ayn Fārah to Cypros. They were built as high as possible, and still conduct the water by gravitation to this fortress that was built over a high hill. The canal, which transferred the water of ‘Ayn al-Qalt ran lower along the bed of the valley. (Meshel-Amit, 2002)

DAYR AN-NABĪ SAMWĪL

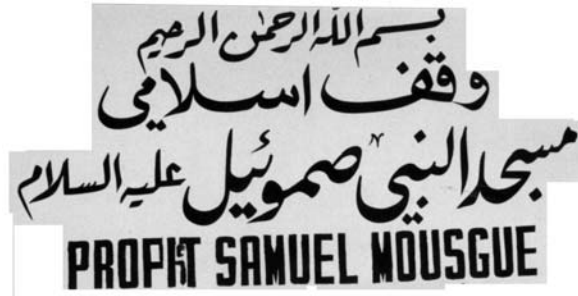
Is. Gr. 167 137 (N. Is. Gr. 215 637)



Dayr (an-Nabī) Samwīl (also: Shamwīl, Ṣamwīl and Ṣamū'īl) or *mār ṣamwīl* (Yāqūt, 5:39; *s.v.* “Mār Ṣamwīl,” *Marāṣid*, 3:1219) a local sanctuary, and a small hamlet to the northwest of Jerusalem. The relatively modern mosque with high *manārah* was built in the 18th century over ancient remains of various periods, on the top of the one of the highest mountains, (908m. above sea level) in the vicinity of the Holy City. (Fig. P29) The place is known simply as an-Nabī Samwīl (or in the local Aramaic dialect, Mār Samwīl strictly meaning St. Samuel)—following an ancient tradition that identified it (wrongly) as the burial place of the prophet Samuel. The word *dayr* (monastery) was added to the name simply because when the Arabs occupied the country they found there a Byzantine church and a monastery, built in the 5th century over the grotto identified as the burial place of the prophet. (Hoade, 1984:587) The stamps on jar handles discovered in large quantity in the place with the Arabic inscriptions *Dayr Samwīl* or *Shamwīl* from the 8th century are the best proof for this fact. Yāqūt remarks (erroneously) that the word “*mār* in Syriac means a (Christian) priest,”

and identifies Ṣamwīl as “one of the (Jewish) *aḥbār*,” a term usually used in Muslim literature to signify the Jewish Rabbis or learned men. But it is clear that he uses it without realizing that the Aramaic—*mār* means saint. The nearest name to the original name of the Hebrew prophet (*Shemu'el*) survived in Muqaddasī's reference to the place. He called it *Dayr Shamwīl*. (Muqaddasī, 1906:188; Ranking, 1897:309; Le Strange, 1890:433) Since Muqaddasī is the nearest literary source to the stamps, discussed below, it is possible to read in them the name “Shamwīl” as well, taking into consideration that almost all inscriptions from that period lacked diacritic points, and the letters *sīn* and

shīn were identical. The spelling with *ṣād*, used by Yāqūt (and the *Marāṣid*), represent the pronunciation of names of foreign origin. In foreign words, the pronunciation of the Latin “s” as *ṣād* is very common. (See below *s.v.* “Farkhah”) The local *waqf* authorities have adopted a very similar spelling in modern times too, reproducing Samuel as *Ṣamū’īl*. (Pl. 30)



Pl. 30. Sign fixed over the gate of “Proph^t Samuel Mousgue” by the Muslim *waqf* authorities (faithful to the original). Photographed in 1998.

Arabic: Basmalah. An Islamic *waqf*. The mosque of prophet Ṣamū’īl peace be on him

Christians connected the site with the name of the prophet in the 5th century, but it is possible that the tradition establishing this connection is much earlier. The commanding position of the mountain, one of the highest spots in the country, the wonderful wide view from which a large portion of the Holy Land can be seen even without ascending the minaret of the present mosque, make the mountain a very impressive topographical feature. (Figs. P30, P31) Guérin, who visited the place on 6 May 1863, standing on the tower over the mosque, left the classical description of the view that will always excite the visitor to the place.

You see from there something which resembles a wonderful relief map, alive and vivid of about one third of the country. To the west the Mediterranean; to the east, across the Jordan and the Dead Sea the mountains of the Lands of Ammon and Moab; to the north the main mountain ridges of the mountain of Ephraim; to the south—the ridges of the mountains of Judah. This is the huge frame of the picture, which is revealed to your eyes, and in this frame, how many were the points that were once inhabited or that are still inhabited! True they are now only the shadows of the past and no more than souvenirs, but these souvenirs are eternal. It is enough to mention one unique city, Jerusalem in the southeast, which can be seen very well with its domes and towers and walls.” (Guérin, *Judée*, 1:362-3)

It is not surprising that the Christian pilgrims, who had sometimes spent years on their way to the Holy Land, and crossing the last part of their

journey along the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, cried of joy when the Holy City, their desired destination, appeared before their eyes. This is how the mountain came to be known as the Mount of Joy—*Mons Gaudii*, *Monjoie*, *Monjoye*. (Abel, 2, 1938:447; Guérin, *loc cit.*) Sir John Maundeville early in the 14th century describes the arrival of the pilgrims to the site.

“Two miles from Jerusalem is Mount Joy, a very fair and delicious place. There Samuel the prophet lies in a fair tomb; and it is called Mount Joy, because it gives joy to the pilgrims hearts, for from that place men first see Jerusalem.” (Wright, 1848:175. The Latin original speaks about “the first sight of the Holy City; *eo quod peregrinis ab illa parte intrantibus reddit primum Sanctae Civitatis aspectum.*”)

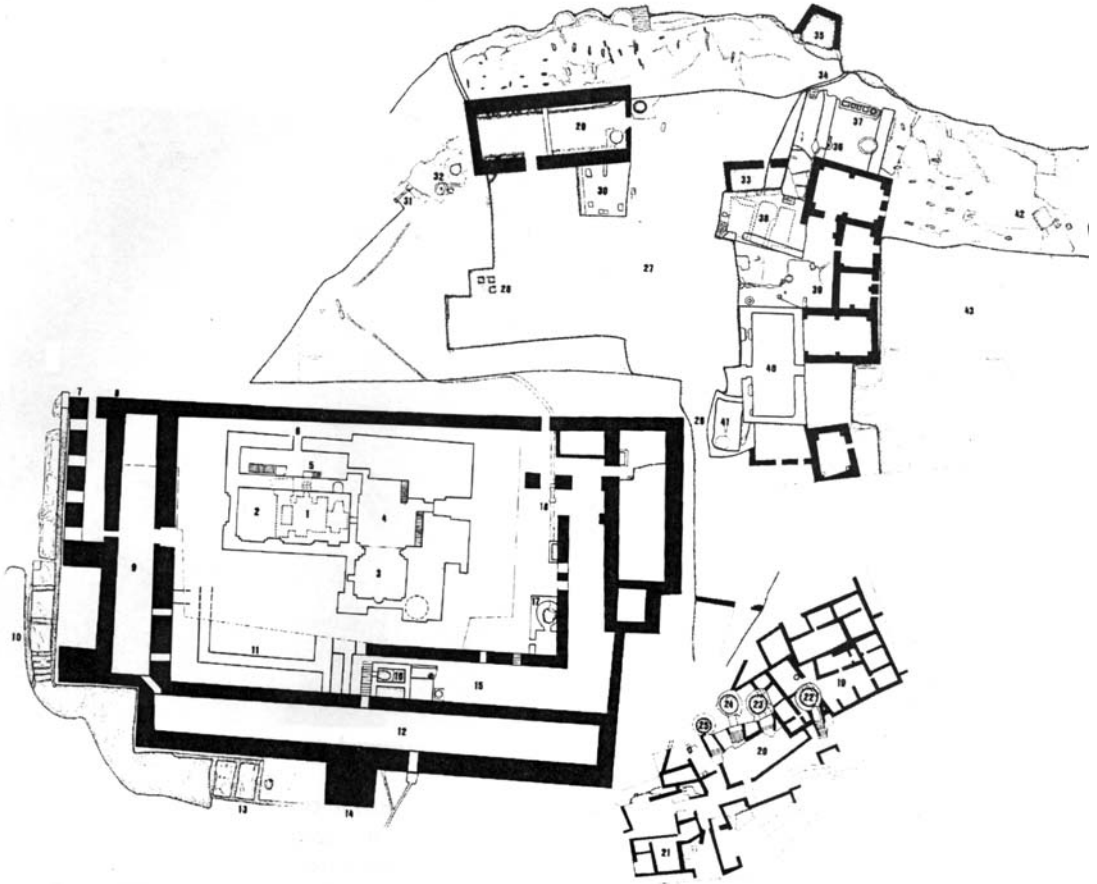
In modern times the course of the pilgrims routes to Jerusalem changed and the Mount of Joy ceased to be the place from which they first observed the city.

The connection of the name of the place with the Prophet Samuel followed its identification with the birthplace of Samuel—Ramathaim-Zophim (*sofim*) as well as with his burial place, “in his house at Ramah.” There was nothing to back these identifications except the fact that the names refer to elevated places. (For detailed discussion of the sources and the various views in the 19th century see Guérin, *Judée*, 1:362ff.).

Much more convincing is the identification of the place with Mitzpah (Misphah), a town mentioned by Jeremiah (Jer. 41:1, 6, 10, 16) in proximity to Gibeon as the place where the temporary administrative centre was established by Babylonian conquerors of Judea under Gedaliah the son of Ahikam. The Mitzpah is again mentioned in 1 Maccabees (3:46) “which is opposite Jerusalem.” In the past, Mitzpah “was a place of prayer for Israel” (*ibid.*). There, Judas Maccabeus chose to assemble the people before the decisive battle against the Greeks (BCE 166) under Gorgias. (Maccabees, 3-4)

While the Ramah of Samuel was identified with the village of ar-Rām to the north of Jerusalem, the identification of Mitzpah with Nabī Samwīl seems very plausible, especially after the testimony of 1 Maccabees. This identification was challenged after the excavation of a large town in Tell an-Naṣbeh, which had been also identified with Mitzpah. Tell an-Naṣbeh, however, is too far to be described as a location “opposite Jerusalem.” Albright and Avi-Yonah’s support for the identification of the Mizpah with Nabī Samuel, although challenged by many scholars, seems very much in place (Smith, 1966 (1968): 199 and n.7; Avi-Yonah, 1962:101 and n. 14). Lately Magen and Dadon, who carried the extensive excavations in the site, support this identification as well. The many archeological finds establish beyond doubt that uninterrupted settlements existed in the place since the Iron Age until

modern times. (Pl. 31) The existence of rich spring in the site (Fig. P32) and its strategic position made it an ideal place for supporting sizeable communities as well as for fortified posts. (Magen, Dadon, 2000:62ff)



Pl. 31. Nabī Samwīl plan of the Archeological finds. (Courtesy Magen and Dadon)

1. Tomb cave 2. The mosque, the nave of the Crusader church. 3. Mosque. 4. Entrance hall. 5. Entrance hall to the tomb cave, northern aisle of the Crusader's Church. 6. Northern entrance. 7. Bridge leading to the church courtyard. 8. Entrance to the fort. 9. Western vault. 10. Quarry and moat. 11. Supporting walls of the church courtyard. 12. Southern vault. 13. Quarry. 14. Tower. 15. Internal vault. 16. Kilns and water reservoirs from the Mamlūk period. 17. Kiln from the Mamlūk period. 18. Crusader Arches and paved area. 19-20. The Hellenistic quarter and place of archaeological finds from the First Temple and the Persian periods. 22-25. Kilns from the Umayyad period. 26. Passage to a courtyard from the Crusader's period. 27. Courtyard. 28. Quarry 29. Large stable. 30. Foundation of a Tower. 31. Entrance opening. 32. Crusader's water tank. 33. Small stable. 34. Drainage canal of the courtyard. 35. Crusader-built water tank. 36. Crusader-built water tank. 37. Water troughs. 38. Caves. 39. Pilgrims hostel. 40-41. Caves and structures dug into the rock—pre-Crusader's period. 42. Hellenistic winepress. 43. Quarry.

Its impressive and commanding height made the site an ideal place for religious activity as well, when “the high mountains” and “the hills, and ... every green tree” were preferred for the building of altars, sanctuaries, and “high places” of worship. (Deut. 12:2; 2 Kings 16:4; Hosea 4:13; 2 Ch. 28:4) It is not surprising therefore; that the Mitzpah was connected with the name of Samuel in this regard too. It was one of the places where the prophet used to collect the people of Israel in times of great national crisis to invoke the divine help (1 Sam. 7:5-6). It was also one of the few places where he chose to judge the people of Israel (1 Sam. 7:16)

The erroneous identification of the Ramah as Samuel’s birthplace and burial place is old, and the church built there by Justinian, containing the supposed tomb of the prophet, is still shown to this day in the underground level of the present sanctuary, built over the remnants of the Crusaders church. The supposed tomb should, however, be empty if we are to believe St. Jerome’s report that under Arcadius (395-408), the bones of the “blessed Samuel” were transported (on 16 May 406), “from Judea to Thrace.” This caused such joy that “the laudatory voice of the people resounded from Palestine to Chalcedon.” (Quoted in Guérin, *vol.cit.*, 303ff; Abel, 2, 1938:446)

Later, we are told, the bones were transferred from Chalcedon to Constantinople. This was part of the effort made in the 5th century to enrich the Capital of the Empire and of Christianity with remains of the saintly figures of the Old Testament. (Abel, *loc.cit.*) This happened when the Byzantine church had already been in ruins for a long time, but the name of Samuel had already been well established there, and the supposed tomb was a site of pilgrimage for both Jews and Muslims, if we are to judge from the fact that when the Crusaders came they found the tradition still alive and proceeded to build a church over the ruined one. From the excavations carried out on the site, it is clear that the Byzantine village continued its existence after the Muslim occupation. It changed its character into an Arab village, and became a busy centre for the production of pottery. (Figs. P33, P34)

Baldwin II (1118-1131) gave the “mountain of St. Samuel” to the priests of the order of Cîteaux (the Cistercian order founded in 1098) together with 1000 gold coins for the establishment of a monastery there, and they transferred the mountain and the money to their brothers the Premonstratensians (founded in 1120), who proceeded to build the monastery. In 1157 the monastery was already built, and in the church documents of the time was known as the “church of St. Samuel of Mount Joy” (*ecclesia Montis Gaudii*). Ashlars for the building projects in both ancient and medieval times came from the local quarry, which must have exported huge blocks of stone for

building activity elsewhere too. The remnants of this quarry with the massive stone blocks left in the middle of cutting are still very impressive. (Fig. P35)

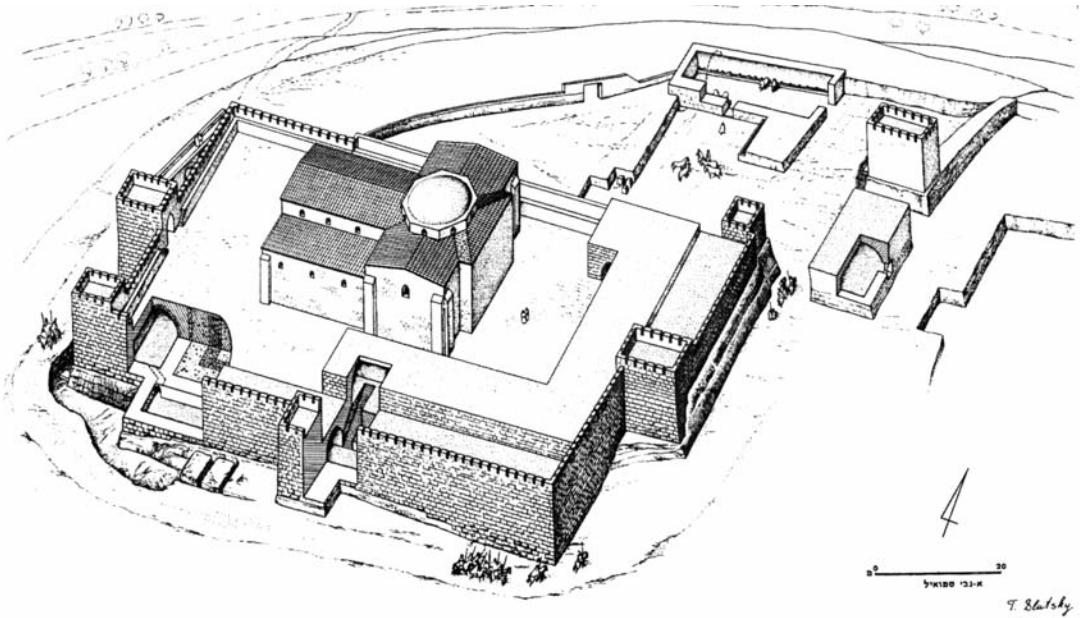
After Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, the church was turned into a mosque, and since then remained in Muslim hands. In 1192 Richard Lion Heart looked on the city of Jerusalem from the top of the Mountain of Joy, but neither retained it nor proceeded toward the holy city from it. In 1917, the British army had to fight a bitter battle against the Turks who had been well entrenched at Nabī Samuel, capturing this highly strategic position prior to its final attack on Jerusalem.

Sometime after their coming to the place, the Crusaders identified it with Shilo, and this is how this wrong identification entered into some Hebrew itineraries of the late middle Ages. (*Cf.* Press, 2, 1952:593 and note 3 where he emphasizes that it seems that this identification between Mitzpah and Shilo goes back to the Tannaitic times).

The Crusaders, appreciating the strategic value of Nabī Samuel, built on it an impressive structure, which was a combination of a fortress, a monastery, and a church. (Pl. 32) The structure crowning the summit of the hill kept eye contact with Jerusalem and controlled the major route that led from the coastal plain to the holy city. There is no definite date of the building, but from the Holy Sepulcher documents it is known that by 1107 the place was already built. The church was called the church of St. Samuel, keeping the ancient name which already existed in the place in the Byzantine period connecting it with the prophet. (Abel, 2, 1938:447).

Since the Byzantine period, following Eusebius, Ramathaim-Zophim—Samuel's birthplace—was identified near Lodd (Lydda), and since it was well known that the remains of the prophet Samuel were removed to Chalcedon in 406 and thenceforth to Constantinople, it seems clear that the Byzantine church as well as the fortification of the mountain by Justinian (who built a wall around the monastery and the church in the 6th century), were built not over the tomb of the ancient prophet, but rather in his honour. (Magen-Dadon, 2000:67)

Jews convinced of the place to be the Ramah of Samuel, made pilgrimage to it, especially on the 25th of the month of Iyyar, which, according to tradition, is the date of the prophet's death. A synagogue was built there, the keys of which were in the hands of a custodian who opened it to Jewish pilgrims and other Jewish worshippers, mainly from Jerusalem, who in time developed specific regulations concerning the keeping of the sanctuary, lighting candles and spending two or three days in the place.



Pl. 32. Reconstruction of the Crusader castle and church (courtesy Magen and Dadon)

This existed side by side with the Muslim activity in the mosque. It seems that sometime in the 16th century the Jews had to give up some of their privileges there, but a report from the middle of the 18th century speaks about the restoration of the Jewish pilgrimage to it. This is the custom to this day. (Press, *vol. cit*, 594 and references. More information see Vincent, *RB*, 1922: 388-392, *SWP*, 3:149 and Abel, 2, 1938: 446-447. Robinson, 1:456ff).

Mujīr ad-Dīn in the 16th century, describing (with much exaggeration) the borders of the mega-city of Jerusalem in ancient times, says: “And the city of the Holy Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) in the time of the Children of Israel had great buildings and spread over a large area. It was bigger than Cairo and Baghdad.” (Here come the names of the places around Jerusalem to which the built area of the city reached). “From the north (it reached) the village wherein is the tomb of the prophet Shamwīl, may Allah bless him and give him peace. The Jews call it Rāmah and its distance from Jerusalem about one quarter of a *barīd*.” (Mujīr, (1) 1973:117-118) It is interesting that Mujīr ad-Dīn does not identify the place as “*Dayr*” and leaves the village nameless, but he is well aware of its identification by the Jews with Samuel’s Ramah.

A curious reference to the place is found in the itinerary of Evliya Çelebī’s itinerary from the middle of the 17th century. The Turkish traveler who visited the Holy Land between 1648 and 1650 speaks about the “village of

Shimwēl perched on the top of a high mountain.” Referring to the sanctuary he says: “Here is the shrine of Shimwēl son of Ishmuēl peace be on both of them.” (Evliya Tshelebi(!), 1980:54). It is evident that the traveller must have heard these two names, the second identical with the Hebrew name of the prophet (the vowel “i” added to help with pronouncing the Hebrew *Shmuel*, שְׁמוּאֵל), and came to the conclusion that these were two prophets, father and son. “They both are descendants of Moses and where of those prophets who received inspirations.” (*Ibid.*) Finding in the place, however, only one tomb he remarks: “Shimwēl is buried in a high shrine connected with the mosque. It is a place for pilgrimage for all and sundry. But it is uncertain whether Ishmuēl too is buried under the high dome.” (*Ibid.*) Referring to these names St. H. Stephan remarked on their form in the Ottoman firmāns saying that: “it differs between Ishmūʿīn (A.H. 1033, A.D. 1624), Ishmuwēl (A.H. 1192, A.D. 1778), and the present Shimwēl.” (*Ibid.*, n. 5)

According to a modern inscription fixed above the main gate of the sanctuary (pl. 33) the mosque was renovated in 1345/1926-27.



Pl. 33. Modern inscription over the gate of the renovated mosque

Modern construction text

1345/1926-27

A slab of marble painted green; 2 lines, modern, monumental *naskhī*, points, many vowels. (Pl. 33)

١) جدد عمارة هذا المسجد والزاوية ٢) المجلس الشرعي الإسلامي الأعلى سنة ١٣٤٥

Has renewed the building of this mosque and cloister, the Supreme Muslim Judicial Council in the year 1345 (=1926-27).

Stamps

In the excavations that Y. Magen and M. Dadon carried out between 1992 and 1999 in Nabī Samwīl scores of stamps on jar handles carrying the name of the place, and other formulae, were found. A few kilns in which the pottery was fired—some in good condition—and other remains prove that pottery was produced in the place on an extensive scale during the late Byzantine and early Muslim periods. (Figs. P33, P34 Pl. 34) The huge remnants of pottery utensils and storage jars, and the unusual variety of these remains, show that pottery was produced as one of the main export products of the area. A stamped jar handle with the inscription “YHD” (Yahūd) in ancient Hebrew script attest to the fact that the production of pottery in the place go far back to the early Second Temple (Persian) period (Magen-Dadon, 2000:65 and reproduction of YHD stamp).

The fact that pottery from the early Islamic period, originating in Nabī Samwīl, found its way to Jerusalem, being the nearest great urban centre, is not surprising, but as we shall soon see, the products of the Nabī Samwīl potters reached much further than the immediate vicinity.

Among the rich examples found in the site are large jars, which were used for the storage and transfer of liquids, especially oil and wine. The fact that wine was produced in the area can be proved by the suitability of the terrain for the growth of vines, and by the ancient wine presses, which are found around the place. That wine was produced in monasteries is a fact known to this very day. Even after the Islamic conquest, wine continued to be produced in the monasteries, and in spite of the strict Islamic prohibition on its consumption, it was very much in demand also by Muslims, who knew exactly where to find the monastery where good wine could be found. (Shābushtī, 1966:33, 176-7, 252, 259, and throughout the book) The “wine poems” of poets representing all the religions in the Islamic state should be called to



Pl. 34. Reconstruction of a kiln
(courtesy Magen and Dadon)

mind as a clear proof for the production and consumption of wine.

Jar handles with stamps similar to the present ones were found also in Ramlah and Caesarea, (*CIAP*, 2, 1999:290f.) which proves that the kilns in Dayr an-Nabī Samwīl supplied pottery to the coastal plain as well or at least that their large jars reached the two main cities to the north-west: the capital of Palestine, and one of its major ports. Since the main road from Jerusalem to the coast passed through Ramlah it is not surprising to find there also the products of Dayr an-Nabī Samwīl.

The stamps found in the excavations represent a variety of texts, but one group of stamps seems to represent the trademark of the factory, so to speak. In this group the name Yūsuf follows that of the locality. This might have been either the name of the owner of the jar or of its producer. The first possibility seems more plausible, which means that large quantities of jars were produced for one person. It seems highly improbable that a stamp was prepared for one or two jars, and the fact that half a dozen identical inscriptions, namely “*dayr samwīl yūsuf*” were found in the excavations are ample proof for this assumption. The fact that other inscriptions with private names from the same site contain the word “*barakah*”—“blessing,” before the name, such as *barakah ayyūb*, or even *barakah ayyūb b. ‘Uthmān*, prove that the owners

were intended. Incidentally, the inscription *barakah ayyūb* appears also on a jar handle from Caesarea (CIAP, 2, 1999:292) as well as the pious inscription *allah aḥad*—Allah is one. (*Ibid.*, 293-4) In my notes I have an entry that a similar inscription was found also in the excavations near Herod's Gate in Jerusalem.

Sixty-six stamps from a large number of shards, mainly jar handles, were studied in this entry. They represent most of the collection found in the site until the time of publication. There can be no question that more material of similar nature is likely to be found as the excavations proceed. Taking into consideration that the whole area of the pottery factory had already been excavated, mainly the kilns, it is probable that the bulk of the material in the site itself had already been unearthed. However, since the products of Nabī Samwīl were sold, and used, as far as the coastal town of Caesarea as well as in Jerusalem and Ramlah, (stamped jar handles found in these places point to Nabī Samwīl as their place of origin), one can expect to find more such material elsewhere too. The fact that Nabī Samwīl's factory used labeling stamps for its products mean that pottery was mass-produced, and that it had gained some reputation to itself.

The sixty-six stamps contain ornamental designs. The inscriptions consist of a few texts which were repeatedly stamped on the Jar handles. The formulae are as follows.

Type 1: Place of production only: "Dayr Samwīl" (or, Shamwīl) and "From Dayr Samwīl. (or Shamwīl)." Seventeen specimens in two groups:

(a) Two specimens. Elliptic impressions, produced by two separate stamps 2.5x2.1cm. and 2.9x2.4cm. on jar handles, near point of attachment to the body. Two circles enclose the inscription outer one sunken (incised), inner one raised creating the field bearing the inscription or the ornamentation; reddish brown clay with some black grain. (Pl. 35). 3 lines, typical 8-9 century script, with tendency towards earlier date (see below); no points and no vowels. In all the following inscriptions and ornamentations the incised mold in mirror writing produced the impressions in relief. (All the following drawings are courtesy Magen and Dadon)

(١) دير (٢) سمو (٣) يل

Dayr Samwīl (Shamwīl)

An identical stamp, round, was discovered in Ramlah (now in the late Dr. Papo's private collection in the city). In addition to exactly the same text it

Pl. 35. *Dayr Samwīl*

is similar in size—diameter 2.3cm.—and style, and exactly the same matrices. (Fig. 19) The description of the stamp above as “elliptic” could well be due to the movement of the seal on the wet clay, it could very well be that all these stamps were round and had the same diameter of about 2.5 cm. (or 1 inch).

b) Fifteen specimens that represent more than one stamp. They are, however, all about the same size—2.3–2.5 cm. mostly round and some with a slight elliptic tendency. Some almost completely defaced, but the traces of the inscriptions allow sure identification. All the stamps were stylized in the same fashion: 3 lines inside a raised field encircled as in the previous specimen: well produced letters in relief representing 8th century script. (Pl. 36)

Pl. 36. Three specimens: *min dayr Samwīl*.

(١) من دير (٢) سمو (٣) يل

From dayr Samwīl (Shamwīl)

Already in 1940, R. W. Hamilton, reporting about jar handles with Arabic inscriptions, discovered near the northern wall of Jerusalem wrote: "Other similar handles have the stamp من دير شمويل *min Deir Shamwīl*." (Hamilton 1940:16 n.1)

Type 2: Place of production and the name Yūsuf.

Three Specimens, one broken on the top right. Round stamp; diameter about 2.5cm; other technical details as in type 1. (Pl. 37)



Pl. 37. Three specimens: *dayr Samwīl Yūsuf*.

(١) دير (٢) سمويل (٣) يوسف

Dayr Samwīl (Shamwīl) Yūsuf

As I have already stated, the name Yūsuf is most probably the owner or the merchant, who must have purchased large quantities of the same large jars to justify the production of a stamp, although it was quite simple to produce a pottery stamp of this kind. It was prepared from a cylindrical piece of clay, which could easily be handled on both sides of its round ends. The inscription could easily be incised in mirror letters and then fired. The same method is used to this very day. The name Yūsuf or any other name could belong to the potter or to the owner of the factory, though it seems to me rather improbable.

A third specimen bearing an exactly identical inscription—“*dayr Samwīl* (*Shamwīl*) *Yūsuf*,” in the same size and the same script—was discovered in October 1998, during the excavations carried out by Baruch Yuval and Gideon Avni on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority inside the northern wall of Jerusalem near Herod’s Gate (*Bāb as-Sāhirah*, colloquially known as *Bāb az-Zahrah*; hence the (mistaken) Hebrew name *Shā’ar ha-Perahīm*—the Gate of the Flowers. It is identical with the stamps found at Nabī Samwīl: round stamp with clear surrounding borderline, diameter 2.4cm. Slightly damaged on the lower left side, area L.1088, B. 10438a. 3 lines, angular simple, professional 1st/8th century script.

Type 3: Blessing to owner with no name: (a) “Blessing” (b) “Blessing to its owner,” with additional word of good works. Five specimens with 3 subtypes: a,b,c.

(a) Round stamp; diameter 1.99cm. On a jar handle near the point of attachment to the body of the vessel, pink clay. One word early 8th century. (Pl. 38 right)

بركة

Blessing

(a.1) One curious specimen (reg. No. K21059) was discovered in Area E. It represents an elliptic stamp, 2x2.8cm. on a thick handle of a large jar made of the usual reddish brown clay on which the impression of the word *barakah*—blessing appears in mirror writing (Pl. 38 middle). It seems to be the mistake of the person who prepared the stamp and forgot to prepare the negative properly.



Pl. 38. Three specimens of the stamp with *barakah*

(b) Round stamp; diameter 2.5cm. Originally badly stamped, on an almost completely broken jar handle; pale brown clay. 2 lines; angular with a tendency to round letters that could be dated to the later part of the 8th century. (Pl. 39)

(١) بركة (٢) لص—(?) / نصر



Blessing ... Naṣr/victory

(Pl. 39)

The text of this stamp cannot be different from texts which appear on the other stamps. I think that the badly damaged text should read *barakah li-sāhibihi* “a blessing to its owner.”

(c) Three specimens, one broken at the bottom, two from the same area, produced by exactly the same stamp; a slightly elliptic impression 2.7x2.3cm. One specimen comes from a different area I (K 20393), but it represents exactly the same stamp and is round; diameter 2.3cm. which convinces me that all three texts were produced by the same stamp, 2.3cm. in diameter. (Pl. 38, left) 3 lines; angular with tendency to round.

(١) بركة (٢) لصاحـ[بـ]ـه (٣) نصر

Blessing to its owner. Naṣr/victory.

The word *naṣr* added in the broken stamp could be the name of a person too; I tend to think, however, that the word *naṣr* which means “[God’s] support,” “assistance,” in addition to “victory,” is part of the blessing to the owner.

Type 4: Blessing to a person; one name such as Ayyūb Sulaymān etc.

Sixteen specimens, in three groups:

(a) Seven stamps; diameter of all about 2.5cm. each. 2 lines; same script as above (Pl. 40)

(١) بركة (٢) أيوب

Blessing Ayyūb

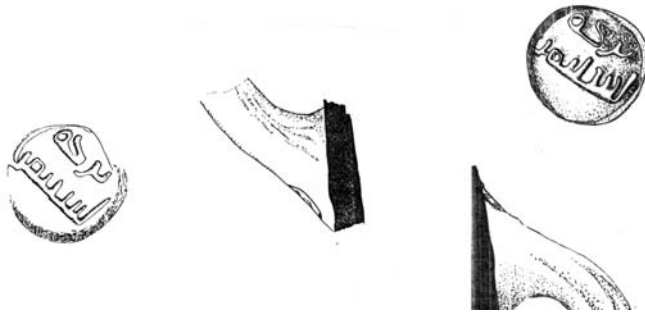
An identical stamp on a jar handle was found, again in Jerusalem during the excavation of 1963-1967, and reported by Tushingaham (1985:327 fig. 35 No. 13. L 850.20a; Reg. No. 5773; diameter about 2.5 cm.) The reading



Pl. 40. Blessing to Ayyūb.

offered in the report: “probably *barakā li-ayyūb*,” could well be *barakah ayyūb*. The long vowel in *barakah* is unnecessary and the *li* (to) before Ayyūb does not exist in most of the specimens found in the site of Nabī Samwīl itself. However, there is one which is rather unusual because it shows clearly two dots *over* the letter *yā'* of *ayyūb* and what looks like a *li* before the name Ayyūb. It seems to me that these two dots should not be understood as diacritic points but rather as an ornamentation element, (Pl. 40 middle) and if the reading is right the stamps with *li-ayyūb* could well be a sub-group of these specimens.

b) Eight stamps representing slight variations in size and shape of letters, mostly round, diameter 2.5-2.7cm. other technical details as above. 2 lines; angular with tendency to rounded letters.



Pl. 41. Blessing to Sulaymān.

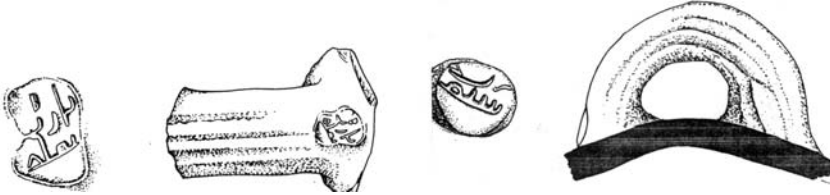
(١) بركة ٢) لسليمن

Blessing to Sulaymān.

Most stamps on the jar handles are complete; one, broken at the bottom

can easily be completed. (Pl. 41) The same stamp was found also in Ramlah, which strengthen the conclusion about the pottery production of Dayr Samwīl, reaching far beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the site. (Fig. 20)

(c) Two incomplete and partly destroyed impressions which can well belong to this group although they can be read:



Pl. 42. Blessing to Salmān.

(١) بركة (٢) سلمـ [ن]

Blessing Salmān

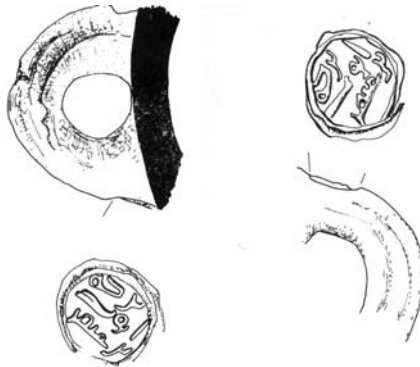
One of the two is very damaged; however, *barakah salmān* would make the most plausible reading, although I do not rule out *baraka Sulaymān* for them too. (Pl. 42) What seems like an *alif* after the *bā'* is to my mind a corrupted *rā'*. The reader however will be justified to read *barik* instead. But since the stamp is very badly preserved, I could not rush with conclusions about such new formulae. The possibility of a spelling mistake of *bārakah*, although cannot be ruled out, I am very doubtful about it.

These two specimens were registered as follows:

677I, 756B 7432 (K20399) 2) 564E 43 (K 2574)

Type 5: Six specimens in two groups.

(a) Five stamps; diameter 2.5cm. On the whole rounded letters—other technical details identical with the above. 3 lines.



Pl. 43. Blessing: Ayyūb b. 'Uthmān.

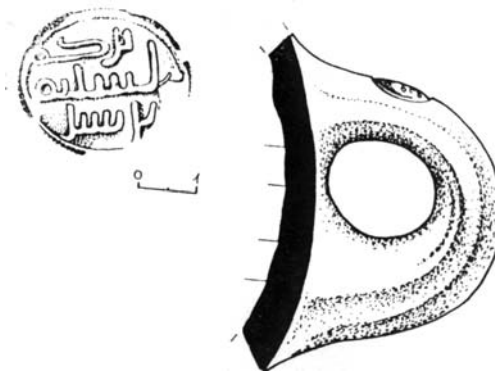
(١) بركة ٢) أيوب ٣) بن عثمان

Blessing Ayyūb b. 'Uthmān

Although at first glance the impressions seem to have been produced by more than one stamp, on closer look they represent a similar, even identical, style. (Pl. 43)

It seems that this stamp refers to the same person, "Ayyūb" whose name appeared on the stamps from the previous group (Pl. 40) without the name of his father. It is clear here that in most of the stamps his name was not preceded by "li-."

(b). One specimen; round stamp, diameter 2.8cm. Highly stylized angular letters of the late 7th early 8th centuries. (Pl. 44)



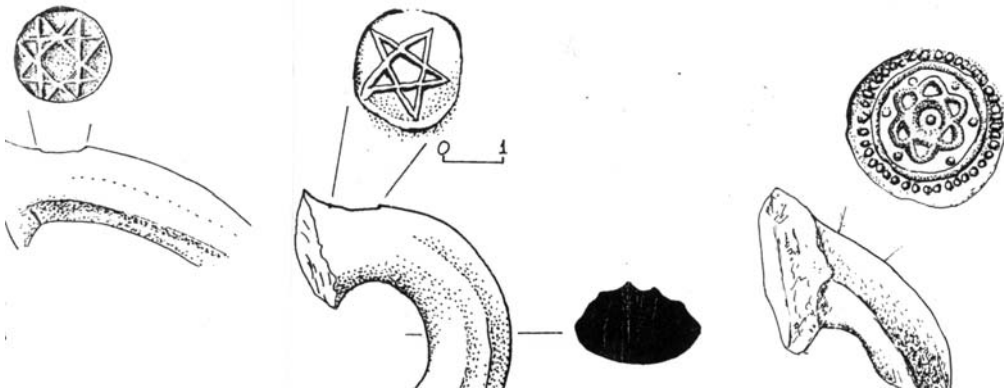
Pl. 44. Blessing to Sulaymān...

(١) بركة ٢) لسليمن ٣) بن بشر/ شبل (?)

Blessing to Sulaymān b. Bishr/ Shibl

The name of Sulaymān's father in the stamp could be read in several ways: Shibl and Bishr are only two possibilities out of a few such as: Busr, Shibr, and even Sabal and Basal (Ibn Mākūlā, 5, 1990: 25, 27 and indices for more unusual examples) however, no doubt that the name Bishr is the most common of all these names, although the form of the letters suggests Shibl.

Type 6: Decorative elements: (a) star with 5, 6, and 8 arms. (b) Cross with Alpha Omega. (c) Crown-like ornament. These decorative elements represent symbols of mainly magical nature. (Pls. 45, 47)



Pl. 45. Ornamental (magical) stamps.

(a) The stars with five and eight arms can be created with one line, namely from the point in which the drawing begins. The star is formed in both cases without having to stop the movement of the hand, unlike the six-armed star (known popularly and groundlessly as the “Star of David” or by the Muslims as *khātīm sulaymān*—“Solomon’s seal”). In addition to the magic usage of these stars, they have great significance as Christian symbols. They were made by Christians for the Christians, and represent the transition period from the Byzantine to the Islamic periods. The five-pointed (or five arm) star “is symbolic of the Epiphany or the manifested nature of God;” it represents Jesus (Rev. 22:16) and “usually accompanies scenes of the nativity.” (F. Rest, 1973:59). In both Christianity and Islam the five-pointed star suggests the human form: head, two arms and two legs, which explains its frequent usage in amulets. Its resemblance to the human body made it a frequent feature of talismans to this very day. It is noteworthy that the Bāb (‘Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, 1819-1850 the prophet founder of the Bābī faith in Iran), recommended the wearing of amulets and used the five-pointed stars as well as concentric circles as the basis for amulets written by his own hand. (MacEoin, 1992:88-90; and reproduction of such amulets after p. 274) The much older Christian significance of the five-pointed star refers to the person of Jesus who is both “true god and true man in one person.” (Rest, *ibid.*)

In Muslim Magic an important place was given to the five-pointed star, which was regarded to have mystical powers when drawn properly, and attached to certain numbers. Al-Būnī, the famous author of the book on magic: *Shams al-Ma‘ārif al-Kubrā*, (1985:311) discusses a few deadly things that can be achieved by an amulet which contains the combination of the



Pl. 46. The magical five-pointed star symbol

five pointed star and the repeated no. 9. (Pl. 46)

It is curious to find the combination of the number 9 and the five-pointed star adopted as central symbols of the Bahā'ī Faith, though in a slightly different meaning. While the five-pointed star remained as the representation of the human body the number 9, is the numerical value of the word *Bahā'*, which is regarded as the supreme name of God. (Smith, 1996:46)

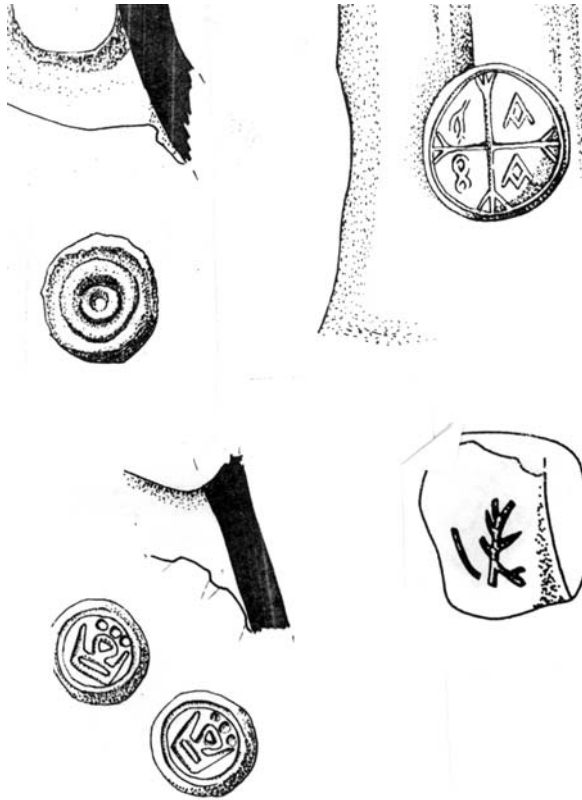
The six-pointed-star, composed of two triangles, super imposed on each other, has been a very common ornament and magic symbol from ancient times. As a Christian symbol it is the creator's star, or "the Symbol of Creation;" doubly emphasizing the Holy Trinity in "the process of creation." (Rest, 1973: 56-60). The six-pointed star was also widely used as a Muslim ornament, and a common architectural decorative feature in mosques, fortifications, walls and other public buildings. Its wide usage is most probably due to the fact that it was identified as "Solomon's seal"—*khātim sulaymān*, which was supposed to also have magical powers against the forces of evil, especially when it was combined with certain Qur'ānic verses. (Būnī, 1985: 217f).

(b) The other clear Christian symbols on these stamps are an eastern cross with split ends of each arm, and with twice the letter *alpha* on the right, one under the other in the fields created by the right arm of the cross, dividing in two the right half of the circle, and a letter which should be *omega* on the left in the fields created likewise in the left side of the circle. I have no doubt that here again we have a negative impression. The maker of the stamp mould incised the cross and the letters in a positive fashion, which reversed the order of the letters *alpha* and *omega* (?) (Pl. 47 top right). This

means that to get the true impression of the stamp the mirror image of the impression should be watched. The Christian symbolic meaning of the sign referring to Jesus being the beginning and the end need no further explanation. (Rest, 1973:5). The oriental cross (equal length of arms) with split ends of the arms is a common feature in the caves of Bayt Jubrīn (*CIAP*, 2, *q.v.*) and Dayr Dubbān. The Christian symbols, combined with the early Arabic script in the stamps from Nabī Samwīl as well as in the caves, studied in this volume (*s.v.* "Dayr Dubbān") and the previous one, may point to still active Christian communities in the Umayyad period.

c) I cannot form any clear idea about the other symbols found on the stamps, which look like crowns, a branch and concentrated circles around a raised point. (Pl. 47 centre, bottom) With some imagination, what looks like a crown could be a combination of the word 'Alī in mirror and straight writing. Draw a line through the middle of the loop at the centre of the "crown" and my suggestion becomes clear.

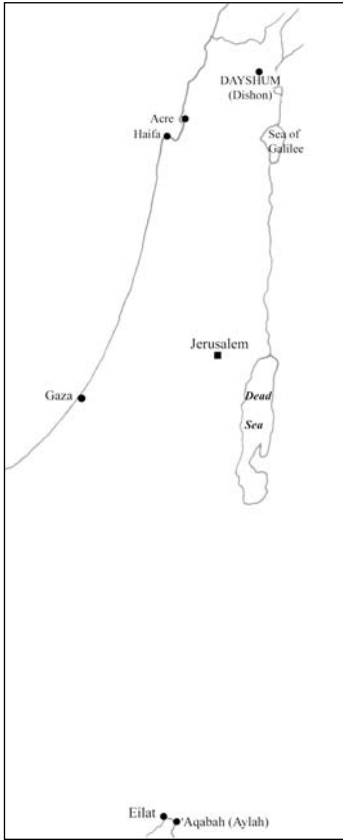
The presence of the rich Christian find together with the Arabic stamps points also to the early Muslim origin of these stamps.



Pl. 47. Alpha Omega and other decorations.

DAYSHŪM
(Dayshūn, Dīshon)

Is. Gr. 198 275 (N. Is. Gr. 248 775)



A small village in the upper Galilee 12 km. (as the crow flies) to the north of Ṣafad (Safed, Tzefat), Dayshūm was built on a slope of a mountain over looking over the deep bed of Wādī Fār‘ah (later becoming Wādī Hindāj) that pours its torrential winter rainwater into lake Ḥūlah. In the *SWP* the village is called Deishūn. This is probably how the surveyors heard the name, though it is not impossible that the name was pronounced ending with an *n* as well as with an *m*.

The name of the modern village is the Hebrew Dīshon, which reflects both pronunciations. Guérin has nothing to say about the village, which could well have been non-existent when he visited the place. In the *SWP* it is described as follows:

A well built village. The houses have gable roofs; the inhabitants are about 400 Algerine (*sic!*) Moslems. The village is situated on the steep hill near the bottom of a valley, in which there are three mills. There are small gardens; there is a perennial supply of water in the Wādy. (*SWP*, 1, 1881:201)

The Ottoman authorities settled the Algerians mentioned here. They left Algeria following the final defeat of ‘Abd al-Qādir, who fought against the French between 1841 and 1847, and during the campaigns of the French army in Algiers for more than two decades later.

Algerians who had belonged to ‘Abd al-Qādir’s army arrived in the Ottoman territories in Syria, following their leader ‘Abd al-Qādir who found refuge in Damascus, and were settled in empty under-developed areas in the Golan as well as in the Galilee. Some were also absorbed into various towns: Damascus, Safed, and Jerusalem, where they established a quarter of their own, bearing the name of Ḥārat al-Maghārība (the Maghribi Quarter,

or neighbourhood). In the upper Galilee they were settled in the villages of Deishūm, Ra's al-Aḥmar, 'Ammūqah, 'Alma, Dallātah (*q.v.*), Iḥseiniyyeh, (Ḥusayniyyah), 'Almāniyyah, Qaṣyun, Tilayl (Tulayyil), Mārus, and in a few villages in the lower Galilee. (Braslavi, 6, 1965:358-359; 'Abbāsī, 2000:118)

From Guérin's description of the village of 'Ammūqah which he visited in November 17, 1875, it is clear that 'Abd al-Qādir's Algerians had already established their settlement in the Galilee. About 'Ammūqah, he says that "a few Algerians who had served in the past in 'Abd al-Qādir's army live in it." The fact that he does not mention Dayshūm neither in his description of the Galilee nor in the map accompanying it, and taking into consideration that he took care to note even the smallest place, it is most probable that in 1875 the place has not been settled yet. (Guérin, *Galilée*, 2, 1880, ch. 115)

The Algerians preserved their Berber dialect for some time after their settlement, and their womenfolk could hardly speak Arabic even after two generations or more of living in the country (Braslavi, *ibid.*, quoting his personal experience).

In the cemetery to the N.E. of the village there is a local *maqām* called Shaykh Ḥaniyyah. The inspectors of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities mentioned the *maqām*. The first note in the Archives of the IAA's is from September 1921. It mentions:

A cave and tomb N.E. of the village and a *wely* called sh. Ḥaniya (son of Jehuda, son of Jacob): an Arabic inscription on a slab of stone consisting of 4 lines of letters defaced."

In the following reports from 1926 and 1927 there is no new information.

In a report by Makhoully the inspector of antiquities of August 1932 there is a detailed description of the Arabic inscription, which indicates again that the letters suffered defacement, so most of the words are illegible. (Makhoully however supplies all the technical details of the inscription).

1

Unidentified

A slab of limestone, 0.45x0.35x0.12m. 4 lines, modern primitive *naskhā*; with tendency to angularity. Large letters 0.06m. high, most of which are unrecognizable; dividing lines between the lines. (Fig. 21; courtesy IAA. Neg. No. 3768)

١)هاذا (!) حنيا [بن يهوذا] ٢) [بن يعقوب ... ٣) ... ٤) ...

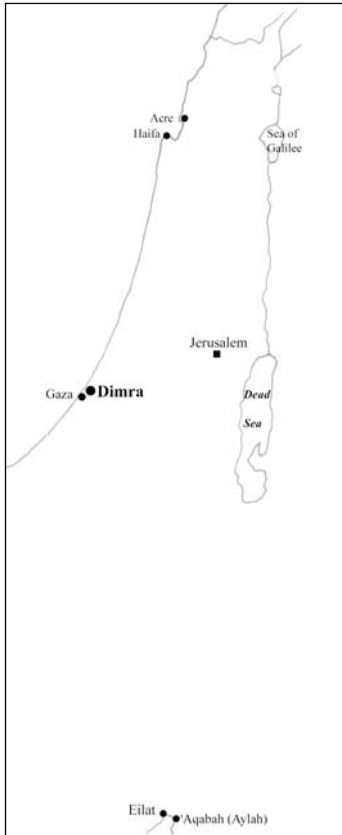
This is Ḥaniyyā (son of Judah) son of Jacob...

Concerning the sons of Jacob, Tewfik Canaan wrote: "It is curious to note that for most of the sons of Jacob there are shrines situated in different villages on the western mountains of Middle Palestine." The shrine for Yehūdā (or Yahūdhā) was in the village of Yahūdiyyah (Is. Gr. 139 195 N. Is. Gr. 189 695) built over the site of the ancient city of Yahūd from the time of the Second Temple and probably also earlier. (Canaan, 1927:195)

The name Ḥaniyyā for the son of Judah must be a corrupted pronunciation of a Hebrew (probably Ḥananyah) name and a local tradition. This local tradition connected with the name of Judah could well be the source for another local sanctuary called Nabī Hūdā (Is. Gr. 211 291 N. Is. Gr. 261 791) a few kilometers north-east of Dayshūm, and south of the Bāniyās tributary of the Jordan.

DIMRĀ

Is. Gr. 109 107 (N. Is. Gr. 159 607)



A small village, (now in ruins) 11km. to the north of Gaza (as the crow flies) and some 2km. to the east of the main route to the north. When Guérin visited the place in May 1863, it was a very small hamlet, whose inhabitants were about 120, and many of its houses in ruins. (Guérin, *Judée*, 2:174) The *SWP* team heard the name nearer to Temrah and registered it under “Tūmrah also called Beit Dimreh. A small village of mud” with a “well bellow it on the north.” (*SWP*, 3:236)

All the reports about the place point out that the ancient remains scattered around the place (caves capitals, marble and granite columns, pottery) attest to the ancient settlement in the site. In the files of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities there is a note about “ancient foundations” of past construction and an “ancient cemetery (Sha‘fāt Abū Joḥa. (*sic!*), better: Sha‘fāt Abū Jawḥah, (the hill-top of Abū Jawḥah).” Soon we shall see that the name is different, probably: Abū Jawḥah.

The description of the cemetery in the report about the village, prepared in 1930, justifies this translation. “East of the village there are traces of an ancient cemetery covering the slopes and summit of a round isolated hill called Sh‘afāt Abū Johar (*sic!*)...” The site has been systematically utilized for providing building material and practically the whole cemetery has been obliterated. The cemetery, thus looted, provided no archaeological finds, but at the well, the Inspector of Antiquities found three fragments of an Arabic inscription. “They happened to be so placed as to be liable to damage.” They were, therefore, transferred to PAM (Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem).

In the Mamlūk period Dimrā was situated on a route which left the Gaza—Jaffa main highway at Bayt Ḥanūn running eastward, up the mountain

ridge of western Judea, to Hebron via the *Khān* at Mulāqis built probably in 1317 (*Atlas of Israel*, IX/11). Its independent natural water supply must have turned it into a convenient halting place even if there is no mention of it in the Arabic sources.

1

Construction text

c. 676/1277

Three fragments of marble, a large slab found near the well at the northern end of the village. Now in the Rockefeller Museum (PAM), Nos. I 8727-8. Fragments A and B: 0.67x0.43m. (max.), fragment C: 0.40x0.40m. 6 lines, monumental early Mamlūk script with full points and many vowels; incised. Publication: Mayer, *QDAP*, 2, 1930, 32-33; *RCEA*, 12: 222, No. 4732. (Figs. 21a+b, 21c)

Two of these fragments, A and B join together perfectly to form the top left part of the inscription consisting of the ends of the three first lines. This part was registered as I-8727. In the third fragment (C)—registered as I-8728—only a few letters were preserved from the beginning of each of the last three lines. However, as Mayer already noted, there is no interruption between the fragments; that is to say that the smaller fragment joins perfectly to the top part of the inscription, it consists of the three last lines.

From the certain reconstruction of the Qur'ānic text in lines 1 and 2 it is clear that each line of the inscription contained between 53 to 61 letters depending on their combination. The part preserved from the first 3 lines of the inscription is less than a half, while much less than a quarter was preserved from the last three lines. Based on many inscriptions from the time of Baybars, it is possible to reconstruct the whole inscription, though not altogether with certainty.

L.A. Mayer's reading and reconstruction:

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْحَسَنِ—سَنَةَ فَلَهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْهَا وَهُمْ مِنْ فَزَعٍ يَوْمَئِذٍ
(٢) (أَمْنُونَ... إلـ) سلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الأمم سيد (٣) [ملوك العرب والعجم
... خادم الحرمين الشريف—ين الملك الظاهر ابي الفتح ركن الدنيا (٤) [والدي—ن ...]
بيي—رس الصالح ق—[سليم امير المؤمنين ... ونشر في الحافقين] (٥) الويته واعلامه
وتو(لى) (?) ... [٦] الحميدى وذلك ...]

Suggested fuller reconstruction:

(١) [بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْحَسَنَةِ فَلَهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْهَا وَهُمْ مَنْ فَرَغَ يَوْمَئِذٍ
 (٢) [آمِنُونَ هَذَا مَا أَنشِئَ مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ مَوْلَانَا] [لـ] سُلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمِ مَالِكُ رِقَابِ الْأَمَمِ
 سَيِّدِ (٣) [العرب والعجم حامي الحرمين الشريف] سَيِّدِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ أَبِي الْفَتْحِ رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا
 (٤) [وَالِدِي]—ن [يبي]—رس الصَّالِحِي ق—[سليم أمير المؤمنين أدام الله قدرته ونشر في
 الخافقين] (٥) الوَيْتَهُ وَأَعْلَامَهُ وَتَو [لى (؟) عمارته ...] (٦) الْحُمَيْدِي وَذَلِكَ [.....]

Basmalah. “Whoever comes with a good deed will receive better than it, and they from the terror [of that day will be secure—Q, 27:89. Bell trans. 27:91—This is what has been established through the benefaction of our master the greatest sultan, the subjugator of the nations (lit. he who rules over the necks of the nations) the lord of the Arabs and non-Arabs (lit. Persians) the defender/protector of the two holy sanctuaries al-Malik az-Zāhir the supporting pillar of the world and the religion Baybars aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, who shares power with the Commander of the Faithful may Allah perpetuate his authority and unfurl/grant victory to his flags and banners (in the east and west. And in charge of the building (?) was... (name, titles) al-Ḥumaydī. And that was accomplished in... (some 45 letters with the date).

All the vowels in the above reading (except for the missing part of the Qur’ānic text) exist in the inscription and they were copied here. The unusually abundant vowels help to support some of the reconstructed suggestions.

L.2: The genitive case of the words *mālīki* which is clearly vowelled with *kasrah*, and the word *abī* (in line 3) show that the reconstruction of the missing part of the line could well be correct because the genitive case is set by *min ni‘matī mawlānā* (after Baybars’ inscription in *CIAP*, 2:77), and carries on until the proper name of the Sulṭān.

L.3: If the word *mulūk* were added at the beginning of the line as Mayer suggested, the number of letters would have been far too many for the missing part. The omitting of this word complies with the formulae recorded by Qalqashandī (6:123-124): “*malik al-‘arab wa-al-‘ajam...*”

Ḥāmī al-ḥaramayn ash-sharīfayn is also a formula recorded by Qalqashandī, (*ibid.*) and used in inscriptions from both the Mamlūk and the Ottoman periods (*cf. CIA, Jerusalem, “Ville,”* 1, Nos. 111, 112). The formula of *khādīm al-ḥaramayn ash-sharīfayn* is also very common (*CIA, vol. cit.*, No. 52; “*Haram,*” 2, nos. 150, 211, 250, 296, 298), and either could have been used here. That this is, almost certainly, the missing formula can be learnt only from the clear remnants of the letters and the vowels, the point and the *fathah* over the (missing) letter *fā’* as well as the *sukūn* over the *yā’*. The other possibility of *sulṭān al-islām wa-al-muslimīn* cannot fit with these vowels.

L. 4: the word *wa-ad-dīn* is the necessary continuation of the title beginning with *rukn ad-dunyā* (*CIAP*, 2, *ibid.*, Qalqashandī *ibid.*)

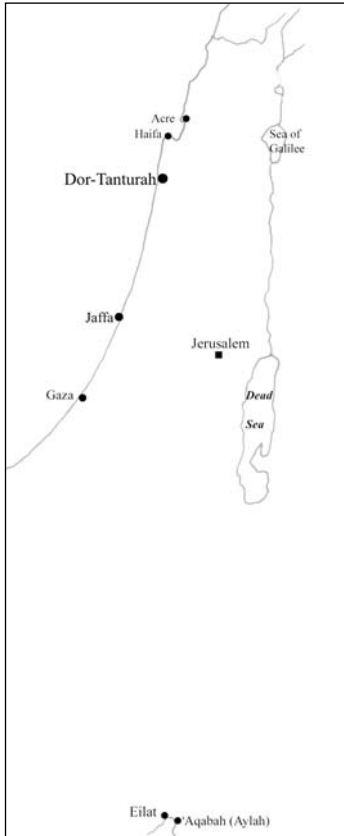
The reconstruction of *adāma allāh qudratahu* or a similar formula, such as *ā'lā allāh kalimatahu* before *wa-nashara* (with a variant of *naṣara*) *fī al-khāfiqayn alwiyatahu* is also common in the chain of the Sultān titles. (Cf. *CIA, Jerusalem, "Ville,"* 1:104, no. 38; *Jerusalem, "Haram,"* 2:24 no. 150; 349, no. 250; 394 no. 277; 441, no. 296; 443, no. 298)

L. 5: the word *wa-tawallā* was almost fully preserved. Mayer suggests continuing with *‘imāratahā(?)* but it seems that the project involved the building of either a mosque or a *khān*, and if the word *‘imārah*, building or construction, can be inserted here then it seems more probable that it was in the masculine. In the report of the Inspector of Antiquities from 9th July 1926 regarding the origin of the inscription he wrote:

"The inscription and other fragments are said to come from ruined mosque close to the well which was destroyed by the Turks during the War." (IAA (PAM) files: "Dimra." Information used by the courtesy of IAA). There are no grounds to doubt this information although if a mosque originating in the early Mamlūk period existed in the place near the well, neither Guérin nor the *SWP* surveyors could have missed it. The only possibility is that a simple village mosque was built there closer to the beginning of the 20th century in which the inscription was utilized as building material. In such a case it could have been brought from somewhere in the neighbourhood.

DOR—TANTŪRAH

Is. Gr. 142 224 (N. Is. Gr. 192 724)



Remnants of a modern village next to the ruins of an ancient coastal town of Dor and its harbour some 23km. to the south of Haifa (as the crow flies), and north of Caesarea. The site of the city of Dor was identified in, and around, Khirbat al-Burj (the “Ruins of the Tower”) that owes its name to the remnant of a Crusader Tower that until the late 19th century protruded over the *tell*.

When the excavation in the site began in 1923-24 by the British School of Archeology the impressive remains of a fortified town began to be discovered. They proved that the site was inhabited since the Middle Bronze age. Later excavations were carried out first by the Israel Department of Antiquities under J. Leibowitz in 1950-1952, who uncovered part of the Byzantine church in the site, and then in 1979-1982 by Claudine M. Dauphin for the Israel Division of Antiquities and Museums who uncovered the church completely. (Reports: Leibowitz, *CNI*, 4, 1954:22-23; Dauphin, *IEJ*, 29, 1979: 235-236; 31, 1981:117-119; 34, 1984:271-274; *idem.* *RB*, 88, 1981:591-592; 91, 1984:256-258)

Since 1980, E. Stern, on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Antiquities Authority, carried out for over 21 years systematic excavations of the site almost uninterruptedly. All these excavations yielded, in addition to details about the size of the city, and the changes in its layout throughout the ages, also huge amount of findings from all periods. These included a Hebrew seal bearing the name of the city, (reading “To Zekhario the Priest of Dor”), stone reliefs of human heads, statues made of pottery, marble, and limestone from the Iron, Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Ages, a large number of pottery utensils of all sizes and from all ages and a particularly beautiful head of Aphrodite from the Hellenistic period. In addition to large hoards of coins, (*NEAEHL*, 2:394-

402) the excavations also uncovered in a depth of 7m. the remnants of the city defense system; a massive wall 2.5m. thick from the early Bronze Age. Thereafter the fortifications were built and rebuilt to fit the changes in the size of the city. These fortifications fit the reports in the historical sources which describe it in the Hellenistic period as a “fortress difficult to conquer.” (Details see *NEAEHL* (Hebrew), 2:393ff.)

The Biblical name of Dor appears in the Book of Joshua, and its King is mentioned twice (Joshua 11:2; 12:23) among the Kings that were beaten by Joshua (Aharoni, 1988:179). The name Dor appears in an Egyptian inscription of Ramses II from the 13th century BC (Aharoni, 1988:38-39, 149). The name of the city and its port, as well as the name of its king, Beder king of the *Theker*, one of the “Peoples of the Sea” (Biblical: *goye ha-yam*) that invaded the shores of the eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century BC, appear in the description of the travel of the Egyptian priest Wen Ammon from the year 1115 BC, which supports the Biblical report (Abel, 2, 1938: 22; Aharoni, 1988:31). In most of the Hellenistic sources, which knew it as belonging to the Phoenician Sydonites (even established by them), the city retains its ancient and Biblical name (דֹר) “Dora, Doros,” (Δωρα, Δωρος). (Cf. Guérin, *Samarie*, 2:305-6)

The tribes of Israel, in whose territory it fell, did not conquer the city (Joshua 17:11-12; Judg. 1:27-28), but in the time of David it was already in the hands of Israel (Aharoni, 1988:189), and under Solomon it was regarded an important capital of a district which bore its name, and one of the main Mediterranean marine gates of Judea worthy to be put under the governorship of the King’s son-in-law. (1 Kings 4:11; Abel, 2, 1938:59; Aharoni, 1988: 31-32) In the report about the Solomonic districts, Dor is the only city whose name appears with the term *nafah* (Heb. *nafat dor*), which meant forest (a borrowed word from the old Greek (Νάπος), the language of the “people of the Sea” and the *Theker*). This is a correct description of the landscape of Dor’s district, the Sharon, which in Hebrew also means forest. (Aharoni, 1988:243. Guérin, following Eusebius, understood *nafah* to mean “the coastal district.” *Samarie*, 2:305ff.) In some of the later sources, therefore, the term *nafah* was attached as an integral part to the name of Dor. Eusebius mentions Dor as Δώρ τοῦ Ναφάθ and Ναφεθδωρ. In both cases St. Jerome translated: *Dor maritima* and *Nephethdor* indicating, similar to the Greek original, that it is “Dor by the Sea” (Quoted in Guérin *loc. cit.*)

The Assyrians conquered it in 732 prior to the destruction of the kingdom of Israel (Aharoni, 1988:291). It came for a while again under the rule of the Sydonites in the 5th century BC, (Smith, 1966:102 n.5). During the Hel-

lenistic period it resisted many attempts to conquer it because of the strength of its fortifications (Josephus, *Ant.* 13:7, 2), but fell to Alexander Jannaeus at the end of the 2nd century BC. It remained in Jewish hands until the beginning of the Roman period, when it fell with the rest of Syria to Pompey who granted it autonomy (BC 64). It retained its importance until the 1st century and thereafter it began to deteriorate.

St. Jerome at the end of the 4th century describes the city as destroyed and desolated (*Dor autem est oppidum jam desertum...* Guérin, *loc. cit.*). It must have been rebuilt later because since about 518 its name is connected with the names of Bishops who served in its church until the Arab conquest. The Byzantine church, a massive Episcopal basilica, was discovered in its site in the excavations of 1979–1983. However, there is no mention of the place anywhere in the early Arab sources. Thus on Ibn Ḥawqal's map of Syria nothing appears between Caesarea and Acre whereas many rather small places are indicated on the Lebanese coast to the north of Acre. (Ibn Ḥawqal (Kramers-Wiet), 1, 1964:163-164 map 7) The reason could only be that for some reason the place was deserted after the mid-sixth century. This was the situation until the Crusaders established in it the fortress of Le Merle. The remnants of one of its towers gave the ruins the name of al-Burj. (Cf. Guérin, *loc. cit.*; Prawer, 2, 1984:73, n. 8; 454, n. 36)

The ancient town had three natural harbours created by promontories jutting into the sea in the northern part of the city, in the middle, and to its south. The one in the south is an excellent natural harbour. It is a shallow lagoon, well protected from the main body of the Mediterranean by a ridge of small islands, no more than a cluster of large rocks protruding from the coast into the sea in a semi-circle. The ancient city of Dor also had a similar natural anchorage. Moreover, a long ridge of concealed underwater rock serves as a wave breaker. An opening in this ridge, which could have been artificial, enabled the ships to enter the lagoon. But in case of a storm this opening was extremely dangerous because the waves lifted the vessels and crushed them towards the rocks concealed under the shallow water.

In normal conditions, however, the lagoon to the south of the town made a particularly fine harbour. Since 1960 the Israeli Society of Marine Research has been engaged in the exploration of the seabed in the area of the lagoon, which yielded a large amount of findings attesting to a seafaring action in the area since the second millennium BC. The systematic mapping of the shoreline in various periods (the sea level being much lower in ancient times) revealed the docks from the Canaanite period, a further proof to the importance of the city as a harbour. The nautical treasures discovered

in the lagoon since 1994, when the Institute of Nautical Archeology (INA) joined the University of Haifa in exploring it, especially the expedition of 1996, yielded further proofs to its extremely important historical function. It served as “gateway between the cosmopolitan Mediterranean Sea and the hinterland for at least 4000 years.” (Wachsman, Kahanov, and Hall, *The INA Quarterly*, 24(4), 1997:3)

Because of the geographical configuration of the lagoon, ships that were wrecked in it were quickly buried under a thick blanket of anaerobic sand. (A dramatic description, accompanied by a graphic illustration, of the process of how ships were wrecked in Ṭanṭūrah appears in *ibid.*, 14-15 Fig. 19) The Marine expeditions of the INA, and of the Centre for Maritime Study (CMS) at The University of Haifa could, therefore, retrieve large parts of the hull of one of those wrecked ships. (*Ibid.*, 6-7, Fig. 3)

The lagoon continued to serve as a local harbour in the Ottoman period, and was frequented by merchant vessels to which attests the customhouse (Fig. P37) on the shore, that still stands not far from the local Walī of Ṭanṭūrah. (Fig. P38)

On the origin of the name Ṭanṭūrah there are at least two views. Guérin, 1875 *Samarie* 2, 305ff. who prefers to write the name with two *tā*'s (تنطورة tantūrah) suggests that the name is a corrupted form of *Dandūrah* which was derived from the ancient name *Dora*. The *SWP*, (name lists, sheet VII p.141) has Ṭanṭūrah (طنطورة), which is translated “The peak.” In local colloquial Arabic the word is used for a kind of a funny high conical cup (actually *ṭarṭūrah* pl. *ṭarāṭīr*) similar to *qalansuwah* (which is also a name of a village)—a tall headgear or a hood.

There is not enough information to follow the process of the development of the village. In the 17th century it is mentioned as a small market where the Bedouins used to come to exchange spoils of the robberies for garments and rice. (Guérin, *loc. cit.*, quoting the *Memoirs de chevalier d'Arvieux*)

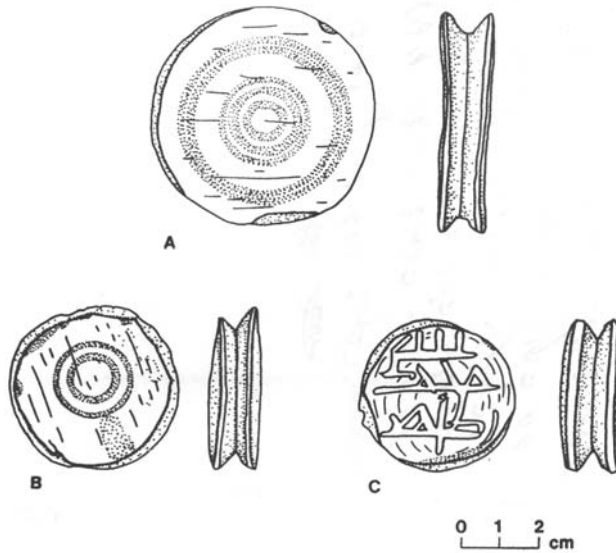
When in the late 19th century Guérin visited the village he found there some 1200 inhabitants, and stone houses which were built from the stones of the ancient city. In it there was also a dilapidating fort, which served as the residence of the local Turkish governor (*mutasallim*). The village had two half collapsing mosques. In the lagoon Guérin saw a small ship, evidence to the continuation of its ancient function. (Guérin, *loc. cit.*) In the late 19th century and early 20th century, its small port was one of the main outlets for the export of watermelons from its vicinity.

1

Inscription from a shipwreck

2nd-3^d/8th-9th c.

During excavations in the Ṭantūrah Lagoon a roundel about 4cm. in diameter was discovered in a shipwreck. Similar roundels are known also from the same shipwreck and other shipwrecks. The exact function of these roundels is not yet clear. The roundel under examination is the only one hitherto found which bears an inscription in Arabic. The inscription consists of 3 words in 3 lines, in angular script.



Three wooden roundels Only C with inscription. Recto and side images.

The three words of the inscription can be read as three names, or as a short sentence with a message. I tend to prefer the second possibility for reasons which will be discussed below.

Reading 1:

(١) الله (٢) محمد (٣) ظاهر (or ظاهر)

Allah! Muḥammad! Ṭāhir (Zāhir)

This reading might have been a “pious invocation” which could mean, “I am asking your assistance O Allah, O Muḥammad!” The name Ṭāhir or Zāhir could be the name of the artisan or the name of the owner of the ship.

Reading 2:

(١) إله (٢) محمد (٣) ظاهر

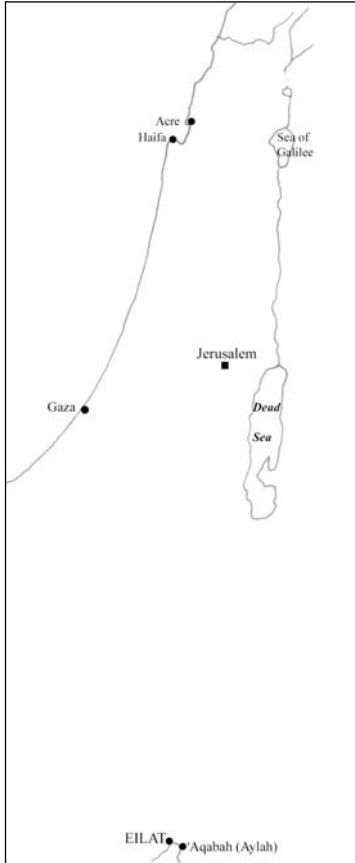
Muḥammad's God is victorious.

This could well be an inscription on an article which belonged to a battle ship that took part in the marine battles between the Muslims and Christians in the early centuries of the Islamic presence on the Syrian Palestinian coast. The verbal adjective *zāhir* is extensively used in *ḥadīth* literature in connection with the Holy War (*jihād*) especially in the context of the divine or the prophetic promise for permanent victory over the enemies of Islam (e.g. *Sunan Abī Dāwud*, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, 4).

The date of the inscription: At first glance, the dating of the inscription seems rather simple; the angular script belongs, at most, to the beginning of the 9th century or even to the end of the 8th. If the archeological context permits it, then the end of the 8th century could well be the date of this inscription. I am careful not to speak about this inscription outside its archeological context because in later periods artisans made use of the angular script as well, which was much easier to produce than the more elaborate rounded or *naskhī* script.

EILAT

Is. Gr. 143 885 (N. Is. Gr. 193 385)



For the site see *CIAP* 1, *s.v.* 'Aqabah. Eilat is the name of the modern city built to the west of the Jordanian city of 'Aqabah, at the top of the Red Sea Gulf known today by the name of both towns: the Gulf of 'Aqabah and the Gulf of Eilat. The following inscriptions were collected by Uzi Avner, for many years the IAA archeologist of the Eilat area.

Since some of them might have been found further south, already in northeast Sinai, no measurement or other details are available for these inscriptions. However, I feel that since the inscriptions are available they should be published. The vicinity of Eilat and the Sinai Peninsula is abundant with graffiti in many languages including Greek and Armenian.

This is not surprising since the region had to be crossed by pilgrims and travellers throughout the ages. The route to Egypt which connects the tips of the two gulfs of the Red Sea ('Aqabah and Suez) was the major route of the Muslim pilgrims from Egypt and North Africa (*ar-rakb al-maghribī*), as well as the main travel and trade route connect-

ing Egypt, via northern Sinai with the famous "spice route" that linked up South Arabia with the countries of the Hellenistic and Roman civilizations and their inheritors.

Christian pilgrims coming from the north passed via the region of 'Aqabah-Eilat on their way to Jabal Mūsā (popularly identified with Mount Sinai) and the monastery of St. Catherine (Santa Catharina). (See for example Benjamin of Tudela, Wright, 1848:123; detailed description of Sir John Maundeville, 1322, *ibid.* 156-159). This accounts for the abundance of non-Arabic inscriptions as well as Arabic inscriptions, frequently decorated with crosses. In a few inscriptions found along the route to central Sinai as well as to along the

“Spice Route” to the Mediterranean (passing through the Negev plateau), some writers identified themselves as “Aylī,” that is to say natives of ‘Ayla-Eilat. (see *CIAP*, 1, s.v. “Aqabah” and “Avdat.” For the inscriptions see Sharon, in *IEJ*, 43(1), 1993:53-59).

1

Shahādah

On a rock face; 2 lines, graffiti in good hand; incised. No measurements. (Fig. 22. Photo: Uzi Avner)

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (٢) كتب عبد الله

There is no God but Allah, Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah. Wrote ‘Abd Allah. The script gives the impression of an early medieval inscription but it is very probable that the inscription is rather modern: the letter *kāf* in *kataba* in the second line and the letter *dāl*, both are not ancient. A local Bedouin, or a traveler, seems to have imitated other inscriptions in the area.

2

Declaration of faith

3rd-4th/10th-11th c.

Three lines, angular provincial script in professional hand, incised; two points above the *qāf*; no vowels. (Fig.23. Photo: Uzi Avner)

(١) بالله يعتصم (٢) جبير بن حسن (٣) وبه يثق

Jubayr b. Ḥasan seeks refuge in Allah and places his confidence in Him.

In spite of the fact that the script seems much older than in my estimation, a closer look betrays 3rd/10th or even 4th/11th century writing, with a closed ‘*ayn*, and two points above the *qāf*.

The formula in this inscription refers to many Qur’ānic verses and to the explicit instruction therein directed at the believers to “seek refuge (*i’taṣimū*) in the bond of Allah as one body...” (Q, 3:103). It is also emphasized “he who seeks refuge in Allah (*i’taṣama bi-allāh*) has been guided to the straight path.” (Q, 3:101) Moreover, the believers are those who have repented and set things right and sought refuge (*i’taṣamū*) in Allah and made Allah the exclusive object of their religion... (Q, 4:146. see also Q, 4:175; 23:78).

3

Declaration

Late 2nd/9th c.

On a rock face; three lines, between graffiti and provincial angular script in a good hand. No points, no vowels; one letter with split end. (Fig.24. Photo: Uzi Avner)

١) أنا ابو رقيم مولا ٢) يحيى بن رزيق ٣) احب الله ورسوله ٤) صلى الله ...

I, Abū Raqīm (or Ruqaym), the client of Yaḥyā b. Ruzayq loves Allah and His Messenger—May Allah bless (him and give him peace).

Two elements push the date of this inscription to the late 3rd/9th century: the split end of the letter *yā'* in the word Raqīm (or Ruqaym) in line 1, and the letter *yā'* “riding” over *ḥā'* in the word *yahyā* in line 2. Otherwise the writing in this inscription would have justified its placing even in the 1st/8th century. The formula expressing love for Allah and His Messenger appears in the Ḥadīth in many variations (e.g. Bukhārī, *Jihād*, 121; 1994 edition, No. 2975, Book 4:15; for many more examples see Wensinck, 1936: 406-407), and must have been in proper usage.

Particularly notable in the inscription is the way by which Abū Raqīm (or Ruqaym) identifies himself—*mawla*. He uses his patronymic “*abū*” but not his proper name. He saves this to his master. I translated *mawla* as “client,” but the writer could well have been a manumitted slave. This form of disclosing identity also reflects an early date for the inscription. The names Raqīm and Ruqaym represent well-known Arabic verb and nouns, and the word *Raqīm* appears in the Qurʾān in reference to *aṣḥāb ar-Raqīm* (Q, 18:9), but the name is not common.

4

Declaration of faith

Late 1st/8th c.

On a rock face; traces of several graffiti beginnings, with one complete inscription. 2 lines, 1st/8th century graffiti incised in good hand. Second line mutilated, probably by later interference. (Fig. 25. Photo: Uzi Avner)

١) بالله يؤمن عمر ٢) بن زيد بن عطية(?)

ʿUmar b. Zayd b. ʿAtīyyah(?) believes in Allah.

L.2. I put Zayd with a question mark only because the word is not too clear, though I am quite sure about the reading. The word 'Aṭiyyah is very possible (end of line 2) but taking into consideration the state of this word I do not rule out Ḥakīm either.

5

Invocation

Early 2nd/9th c.

On a rock face; one line, graffiti well produced, 2nd/9th century style of angular script shallowly incised; no points, no vowels. (Fig. 26. Photo: Uzi Avner)

[أ]للهم اغفر لعروة بن زيد

O Allah, forgive 'Urwah b. Zayd.

The closed 'Ayn pushed the date of this inscription to the 2nd/9th century.

6

Declarations

1st-2nd/8th-9th c.

A group of inscriptions, of which only two were photographed, one in full, (Fig. 27 centre) and the other only half. (Fig. 27 left. Photo: Uzi Avner) The full one will be A, and the half one will be B. Good graffiti resembling late 1st early 2nd/8th-9th century.

A

(أ)الله ثقة يزید بن ربيعة ٢)ورجاه

Allah is Yazīd b. Rabī'ah's confidence and hope

B

(Similar script)

أالله ثقة [...] ٢)في حب مـ[ـحمد]

Allah is the confidence of... in the love of Muḥ[ammad].

7

Declaration

1st/8th c.

On a rock face; two inscriptions (A, B) one above the other. Graffiti, representing 8th century script (especially B), incised; no points; no vowels. (Fig. 28. Photo: Uzi Avner)

A

Shallow scratch of most of the inscription; probably more than one attempt to produce an invocation of some sort. 2 lines?

(١) بالله يثق (٢) الله—[م]...

(Name) depends on Allah. (New message) O, Allah...

B

A well produced inscription: Angular script, in good hand. Points under the *yā'*, no vowels.

(١) الله رجا رشيد (?) بن كثير بن تميم وو (٢) له في الدنيا والآخرة

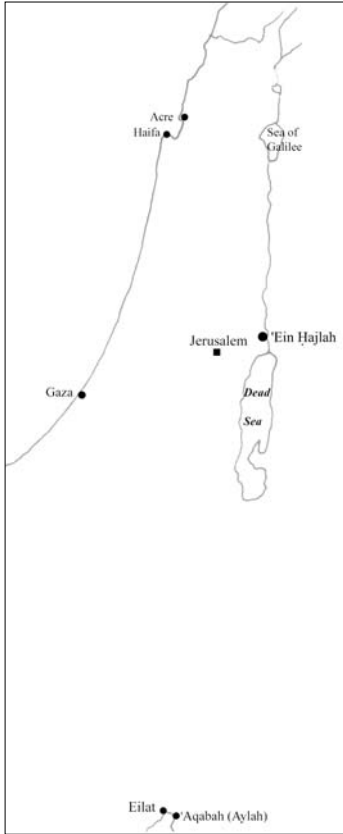
Allah is the hope of Rashīd(?) b. Kathīr b. Tamīm and his patron in this world and the world to come.

L.1. The reading of the name Rashīd seems correct, but somehow I am not comfortable with it, because it ignores a vertical line at the end of the word that forms together with what seems to me like a *dāl*, the letter *mīm*. With the clear two points under *yā'*. There are only two possible readings of the name, Rasīm and Rashīm. Both names are nonexistent in the sources that I was able to see, although theoretically they are not impossible. If one ignores the two points under *yā'* as marks in the stone, then the name Rustum comes to mind. I decided on Rashīd because it seems to me that the vertical line mutilating the *dāl* is not part of the inscription.

L.2. The declaration that Allah is the patron—*walī*—of the Muslim is a common Qur'ānic notion and is repeated frequently in many places in the Qur'ān, (Q, 2:257; 3:68; 13:37) and scores of other examples.

‘EIN ḤAJLAH

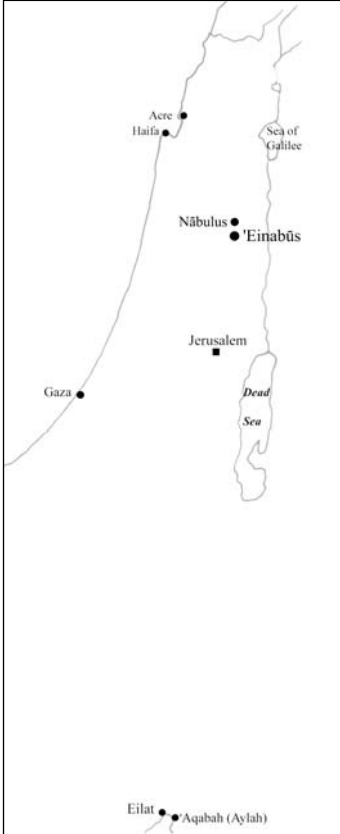
Is. Gr. 198 137 (N. Is. Gr. 248 637)



In formal Arabic: ‘Ayn Ḥajlah. A spring and a date palm grove to the south east of Jericho; the site of the monastery of St. Calamon and a late medieval village called Qaryat Ḥajlah. See DAYR ḤAJLAH.

‘EINABŪS

Is. Gr. 173 172 (N. Is. Gr. 223 672)



A small village in the district of Nābulus. In the village there is a cross vaulted mosque called Jāmi‘ al-Arba‘īn, with three aisles and two bays. In secondary usage in the mosque there are two marble columns and one limestone column with a base used as a capital. In 16.4.1942 Husseini, the Inspector of the British Mandatory Government’s department of antiquities reported the following:

“Western column incised with names and date. The mosque is entered from the west through an open cross-vaulted arcade beyond which there is an open courtyard with a cistern. Nearby, *Maqām al-Khader* a ruined rubble chamber.” (IAA files “Einabūs” ATQ/897. First report from 10.10.1928)

Husseini copied only a part of one inscription without any details.

1

Unidentified

625/1227-8

One of apparently few inscriptions incised on the columns in Jāmi‘ al-Arba‘īn. No other details. Publication: Husseini (IAA (PAM) ATQ/897 report No. 219)

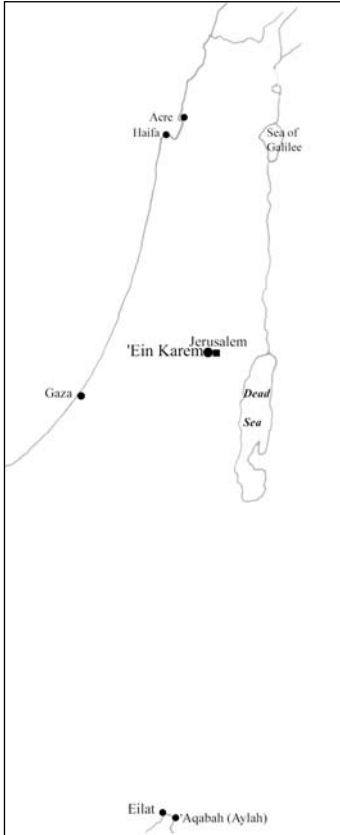
...بن عبد الله تأريخه ... سنة خمس وعشرين وستمائة

b. ‘Abdallah its date (is) 625 (=1227-8)

Since the year 625 began on 12 December 1227, it is almost certain the inscription is from 1228. Unfortunately there is no photograph of the inscription and no other details about it.

‘EIN KĀREM
(‘Ayn Kārim)

Is. Gr. 166 131 (N. Is. Gr. 216 631)



A village about 6 km. to the west of Jerusalem and at present a suburb of the city, built on an ancient site situated in a fertile area where several valleys meet, and enjoys the waters of a natural spring in the middle of the village called usually by the name of 'Ein Karem (or literary Arabic 'Ayn Kārim), like the name of the village. It is probably the Karem (Καρέμ) mentioned in Joshua:15:30, only in the Greek translation. Excavations showed that it was an inhabited centre already from the Bronze Age. It was known in the Middle Ages as St. John in the Mountains. In the New Testament Luke tells us that Mary, the mother of Jesus, upon hearing from the angel that she will bear a child, went into the hill country to the city of Judah, to visit her cousin Elizabeth, who on hearing Mary's voice, cried "Blessed art thou among women." (Luke: 1:39-46)

When Guérin visited the place its inhabitants were about 1000, one quarter of which were Catholic Christians. About a generation later (1881) the SWP reports about 600 inhabitants. 100 of which were Latin Christians, the rest Muslims. The latter trace their origin to North Africa, hence the appellation "maghāribah." Guérin describes them as being fanatical and rowdy. Many times they attacked the priests of the St. John's Monastery and broke into it to rob food and money. (Guérin, *Judée*, 1:83-101) The present site is relatively new and most of its buildings are not earlier than the beginning of the 19th century, and so are also all the active Christian institutions; some of which were built over ancient remnants. We find there the church of St. John with the grotto that is supposed to be the birthplace of the saint, the Convent of the Franciscan Sisters, and to the north the convent of the Sisters of Sion (1860), the

Convent of the Rosary Sisters, (1910) and St. Anne’s Seminary as well as the Russian Compound, established in 1871.

The Crusaders built the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and it is almost sure that they were those responsible for the tradition that the place is to be identified as his birthplace. Guérin is right when he says that this tradition is far less trustworthy than the one which identifies the birthplace of Jesus at Bethlehem. Whereas the latter is as old as the Church itself, the former was probably born in the 12th century. Guérin, however, does not rule out of hand the possibility of the existence of a tradition relating to a holy place, which had been identified in ‘Ayn Karim much earlier. He examines in detail the testimony of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim Saewulf who visited the country in 1102-1103, mentioning that “about three miles to the west of the church of the Holy Cross (then west of Jerusalem MS) is a very fine and large monastery in honour of St. Sabas who was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ” (*In occidentali parte ecclesiae Sanctae Crucis quasi trium milliarium est monasterium pulcherrimum et maximum in honore sancti Sabae, qui fuit unus ex septuaginta duobus discipulis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*). Saewulf adds that “there were above three hundred Greek monks living there in the service of the Lord and of the Saint of whom the greater part were slain by the Saracenes.” (The Latin text quoted in Guérin, *Judée*, 1 *ibid.*, 94. Wright, 1848:44)

The place of this monastery as defined by Saewulf leaves little doubt as to its location somewhere in the area of ‘Ein Karem. Although it cannot be ruled out, it seems very improbable that he had mixed up this monastery with the monastery called after St. Sabas built in the 5th century, to the east of Bethlehem, whose priests also suffered attacks and massacre by the Muslims before the Crusades (Guérin, *ibid.*, Hoade 1984:426). The fact that nobody mentions afterwards such a monastery is surprising, for not long after Saewulf the Crusaders built the Church dedicated to St. John. Nothing can be found to explain the change of the name of the Saint. A clear description of the pilgrim Pipinus from 1320 speaks about an ancient and beautiful church in honour of Saint John the Baptist and not far away from there, another one, that of St. Zacharias, and between the two the fountain called after the Saint Mary. (*Ibi est ecclesia antiqua et pulchra in honore beati Johannis Baptiste, et non longe ab ipsa est alia sub vocabulo Sancti Zacharie, ubi fuit alia domus ejus. Inter has ecclesias est fons qui dicitur Beate Marie, de quo ipsa bibit et impluries aquam accepit*. Quoted in Guérin, *Judée*, 1:94)

After the Crusaders left, this church was destroyed and was not rebuilt until Fr. Thomas of Novaria bought the site in 1621. However, during the 17th

century it was deserted a few times due to the pressure of the local Muslims, who used the grotto and the buildings as stables for their animals. In 1672, Marie François Marquis de Nointel (1635-1685), the Ambassador of Louis XIV to Istanbul received a Firman from the sultan confirming the Franciscan ownership of the place. They spent large sums of money to rebuild the site adding to it a monastery and a guesthouse, but had again to leave it in 1679. Only in 1693 they were able to finally return in accordance with their Firman, clean it, and rebuild its ruins, strengthening the walls and adding iron gates to withstand future attacks.

All the pilgrims since then speak about the church of St. John and the one built over the house of Zacharias the husband of Elizabeth, which according to tradition was the scene of the Visitation. There is a close relationship between these two holy places: both are closely connected with Zacharias and Elizabeth's home, the birth place of St. John, his circumcision and hiding place. The traditions move from one place to the other, and there is no point in trying to challenge the pious explanations relating to the two locations beyond what Guérin attempted to do in his detailed description of the places concerned.

However, there are indications to the existence of some form of worship connected with St. John in the place. The remnants of a building partly cut in the rock, discovered under the Church of the Visitation, may be the proof for it. Abel points out that the traces for such worship activity can be connected to the tradition (The Proto-Gospel of James), which identified the place as the hiding place of the infant John, by his mother Elizabeth at the time of the children's massacre by Herod. A church marked the place where the mountain miraculously was cleft apart to hide the child, which in time became the Church of the Visitation.

The perennial spring between the Monastery of St. John and the Church of St. Zacharias ("The Visitation") was also connected with the name of Mary, and like a similar spring in Nazareth is called to this day "The Spring of the Virgin ('Ayn al-'Adhrā') or "The Spring of Saint Mary ('Ayn Sittī Maryam)." A mosque was built over the spring, which in the late 19th century was in ruins, and was rebuilt only in the second quarter of the 20th century. The spring flows from within a special structure built over it, which forms the foundation of the mosque. (SWP, 3:19, 60; Hoade *ibid.*, Guérin, *Judée*, 1, 1868:82-83, 2:2; Robinson 3:158,272; *PEF Quarterly Statement*, 1905:61-69; Abel, 2, 1938: 295; IAA (PAM) files: 'Ein Kārim)

1

Construction and Endowment text

Early Ottoman?

A slab of limestone 0.25x0.55m. fixed over the entrance of the small mosque to the south of the British Mandatory government school. The inscription is lost and the only information about it comes from Husseini's report in the files of the PAM from 13 March 1939 and 10 March 1947. 4 lines: Ottoman *naskhī* in relief. The following is the reading of Husseini from 1939, remarked: "Only the following words can be read." No photograph available.

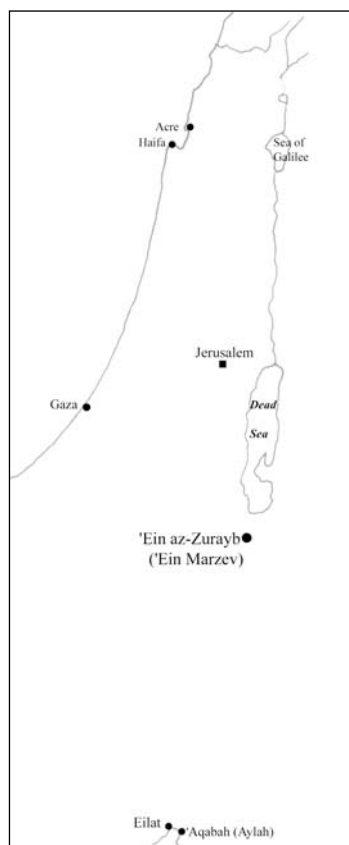
(١) [بـ]م الله الرحمن الرحيم أنشأ هذا المكان المبارك العبد الفقير (٢) يوسف بن الوا... د
... واوقف (٣) [كـ]رم والأرض... (٤) ... وأربعين

Basmalah. Has established this blessed place the needy servant Yūsuf b. al-Wā...? And has dedicated in its favour as a religious endowment the vineyard and the land... (in the date of)... and forty.

It is possible that the *waqf* of the land and vineyard was done to support the village mosque which locally called by the name of Maqām ‘Umayr.

‘EIN MARZEV—‘EIN ZURAYB
(‘Ein Zureib—‘Ayn az-Zurayb)

Is Gr. 175 011 (N. Is. Gr. 225 511)



‘Ein Zurayb as well as ‘Ein Zureib (even better: ‘Ein Izreib) is the colloquial name of a natural water source, some 45km. to the northeast of the village of ‘Ein Yahav. ‘Ayn Zurayb and az-Zurayb is the name artificially rendered into formal literary Arabic; ‘Ein Marzev being the Modern Hebrew name. (Kadmon, *Toponomasticon*, 1994:E15, 71. No. 3934) The meaning of the word “small water course” properly describes the spring which until a few years ago used to yield about 2.5 m³. water an hour. Another similar water source, ‘Ein el-Ḥufeirah (al-Ḥufayrah) lies about 1.7km. to its south. Both these natural sources in the northern part of Wadī ‘Arabah made it possible for human settlements to survive in this arid area, similar to other settlements in the region that developed around similar springs since the Iron Age and even earlier. About 13km. to the south of ‘Ayn az-Zurayb a major route, locally called *Darb as-Sultān* (or, *Darb as-Saltānah*), branched westward from the main route running along the ‘Arabah. The proximity of this route, which led to Gaza mostly along the course of Wadī Marzabah (Marzabeh), added to

the favourable conditions for permanent settlement in the area. A Roman fortress, discovered during excavations in the site, testifies to the strategic importance of the place as well as for its development as an agricultural settlement.

The major excavations of the site by Yoseph Porath took place in 1977 and 1978. In addition to a Chalcolitic settlement discovered in the vicinity (Is. Gr. 177 011 N. Is. Gr. 227 511), a few buildings from much later periods were also uncovered, one of which was a large Roman building, which Porath attributed to the 3rd century. It consisted of several rooms built around a

courtyard with corner towers. The architecture is that of a Roman fortress supporting the defense system along the major routes in the desert. This building was deserted at an unknown date, and many of its ashlar were used to build another building some 120m. to its south. This was a large, square, building of pure quality 10x15m. divided into two units. Many of its ashlar (well-dressed limestone) are covered with Arabic inscriptions. It is clear that the inscriptions were written after the place had been deserted and fell into ruin. In the excavations carried out in 1978, a very large square structure 17x27m. was discovered. This time, the building material was mud-bricks over a foundation of undressed stones. The building consists of a large courtyard with five rooms on the western side and two rooms on the northeast. This seems to have been a typical inn from the very early Islamic period, (the like of which was discovered by the same archaeologist further down along the ‘Arabah to the north of Eilat at ‘Ein Evronah = ‘Ayn (‘Ein) Dāfiyah Is. Gr. 151 898 N. Is. Gr. 201 398). This structure existed for a short period, and was deserted some time towards the middle of the 8th century.

Over the material belonging to the very early Islamic period, there is a layer of animal dung, which points to the usage of the ruined place by nomads. At some stage of its development, probably during the early Umayyad period, the settlement at ‘Ayn Zurayb was a flourishing agricultural community. The agriculture was based on a sophisticated system of irrigation. Two underground tunnels with a chain of maintenance and ventilation piers (resembling openings of wells, hence the appellation of “chain tunnel wells”) led water to the fields east of the settlement from an underground water source near ‘Ayn Zurayb. Porath connects the two chains of wells, the smaller one with the square stone building, and the larger one with the brick building, attributing them both to the early Islamic period. It is noteworthy that similar underground water systems were developed elsewhere in the ‘Arabah, and at least in one case, at ‘Ein Evronah (‘Ayn Dāfiyah) the paleographic material, which I had the opportunity to examine (remnants of financial accounts written with ink on bones) points to a flourishing settlement in the early 8th century.

The inscriptions at ‘Ayn Zurayb, like similar inscriptions in other places all over the Negev, including on the ruins of the Byzantine church at Mamshit (Mampsis, Kurnub, *cf.* Hoade, 1984:633), represent the stage when the Byzantine and early Muslim settlements had already been in ruins. Many of the inscriptions are shallow and primitive graffiti, but there are some that were produced by learned writers who were well acquainted with the formal script of the time.

These inscriptions were incised on the soft limestone of the ruins over a relatively short period (excluding occasional modern scribbles). Many of the inscriptions represent the early 8th century angular letters, well defined, especially the characteristic *dāl* and *kāf* as well as the *alif* with the horizontal line at the base on the right, the round *mim* and the distinctive bending round *rāʾ*, which cannot be mistaken for *dāl*.

Some graffiti written in this style may actually be defined as inscriptions, written in a provincial style. A few inscriptions show development of style especially letters with split ends—"barbs" and "swallow-tails." These inscriptions already represent the middle of the 2nd century, even its end, that is to say some two or three generations after the early inscriptions. Quite a few inscriptions were defaced by later superimposed graffiti.

Most of these inscriptions and graffiti belong to the usual invocation repertoire beginning with the words *allahumma ighfir*. (O Allah forgive!) Many inscriptions consist only of these two words, and some even only part of the word *allahumma*. Of course one has to take into consideration that because of the nature of the limestone over which the inscriptions were produced as well as the shallowness of the graffiti incisions, many of the inscriptions were at least partly defaced. That is to say that if one finds only one word *allahumma* (O Allah!) this does not mean that originally there was no continuation to the inscription. However, there are quite a few examples of such beginnings that had no continuation. All in all some seventy inscriptions and traces of inscriptions and primitive graffiti were found on the stones of the square building discovered some 120m. to the south of the Roman fort.

There is no point in bringing here every single piece of graffiti repeating the same formula of *allahumma ighfir*. I chose, therefore, to include only the inscriptions that supply more information beyond these words. The site of all the inscriptions were registered in the IAA documents as 6315/0. Short reports about the excavation were published in *Hadashot Archeologiot*, 61-62, 1977:50-51, and 65-66, 1978:54-55. Reference was made to the sites in the whole area in connection with irrigation agriculture in Y. Porath's (unpublished) Ph.D. Thesis, on *Ancient Irrigation Agriculture in the Arid Zones of Eretz Israel* (submitted to the University of Tel Aviv in 1985: 126-127) see also *Qadmoniot*, 1987: 106-114 and Y. Aviram *et alii* (eds) *Eilat and the 'Arabah* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1995:243-260, where Porath published studies on the "Tunnel wells in the Arabah."

All the following inscriptions were incised on well-dressed, soft limestone of the two-section building. Its builders used the stones from the ruins of the earlier Roman fort to its north. A fragment of a Greek inscription found

there may serve as the epigraphic link between the two buildings, the late Roman and early Muslim.

Most of the ashlar with the inscriptions were transferred to the stores of the IAA. Most of them were photographed. At the beginning of each entry the technical details of the inscription will contain its negative number, the size of the stone, number of lines or words, and type of script.

1

Invocations

1st/8th c.

638190. An ashlar of limestone 0.40x0.29m. 2 barely visible lines; graffiti with clear features of 1st/8th century script; incised; (Fig.29. Courtesy IAA)

(١) اللهم اغفر (٢) لسا (٣) لم ابن زيد (يزيد ؟)

O Allah, forgive Sālim b. Zayd(?) /Yazīd(?)

Because of the condition of the inscription part of my reading is guess-work.

2

Prayer for the Prophet

1st/8th c.

638194. An ashlar of limestone 0.325x0.675m. 4 lines; small well-produced formal provincial script (Fig.30. Courtesy IAA).

(١) اللهم صلي علا (!) (٢) محمد عبدك ورسولك (٣) ونيك وبيض وجهه وكتب (٤) شيب (؟) ...
(two or three words)

O Allah, bless Muḥammad thy servant and messenger and prophet, and cause him happiness. And Shabīb (?) wrote (this)...

L.3: Literally: “and whiten his face” (*wa-bayyid wajhahu*). Vindication and happiness causing the face to lit—to “be whitened,” is a commonly used popular concept. The idea however, has a Qur’ānic source connecting the happiness of the righteous with Allah’s mercy. (Q, 3:106-107)

L.4: There are a few words after the name Shabīb(?)... which I found impossible to reconstruct.

3

Invocation

1st/8th c.

638197. In *situ*. Examined before its transfer to the IAA stores. An ashlar of limestone 0.24x0.24m. (approx), broken on top and right, in a secondary usage shaped to fit a later building. In the process some of the writing was destroyed, particularly the top line, traces of which can still be detected. Originally at least 7 lines; early Umayyad script, produced by a professional hand. (Figs. 31, 31a. Courtesy IAA). The reading is based on Fig. 31a.

(١) [اللهم اغفر] (٢) لعبد العزيز (?) بن (٣) [فـ] ضيل (?) / اعين (?) وارزقه من (٤) فضلك
انك (٥) [على] كل شيء مقتدر (٦) [و] اغفر لمن قرأ [و] قال امين

O Allah, forgive ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Fuḍayl(?) / A‘yan(?) and bestow on him your bounty, for you are All-powerful over everything. And forgive whomsoever reads (this) and says “Amen!”

L.3: The name of the person is almost completely destroyed. The two names suggested here are guesses based on the traces of the letters, which I am able to see.

L.5: The formula ‘*alā kull shay’ muqtadir* is Qur’ānic (only once in Q, 18:45, (وكان الله على كل شيء مقتدراً), far less common than the usual *qadīr* (39 times in the Qur’ān).

This inscription is important not so much because of its text but because it proves that the stone, on which it was incised, was used in subsequent building which looks quite crude. If the original inscription was incised, (after the original building was already in ruins) sometime around AD 740-750, then one must conclude that there was more building activity in the site after this date. The fact that there are signs of subsequent human activity in the area seems to involve some building of the ruined place not only by nomads, but probably also by long-time settlers. The quick decline of the central authority in the desert areas, which in the ‘Arabah was concurrent with the decline of the old routes passing through the Negev early in the 9th century, made it difficult for the continuation of the relatively flourishing agricultural settlements around natural water sources along the ‘Arabah, as well as in many desert and semi-desert areas where the Umayyads had attempted to develop agriculture. The material found in the excavations carried out at al-‘Ayn ad-Dāfiyah, (colloq. ‘Ein Dāfyeh. Modern: ‘Ein ‘Evronah—עֵין עֲבְרוֹנָה) is clearly early Umayyad. However, the archeological find does not support the exis-

tence of the farm and the irrigation installations (including an impressive chain of tunnel-wells) much after the mid-eighth century. (Cf. Ettinghausen, Grabar, 1987: 45f. and notes; Sauvaget, 1967:1-42).

4

Invocation

2nd/9th c.

638200. An ashlar of limestone; 0.37x0.31m. broken on the top right, 5 lines; clear 2nd/9th century script; well-defined letters, partly defaced, partly tampered with by later hand. Traces of primitive ornamentation with barbs.

The inscription was incised already on the broken stone. The whole text appears on the still intact left part of the ashlar. It means that the stone came from a ruined building. (Fig. 32. Courtesy IAA)

١) >اللهم اغفر(?) <لكريز ٢) ولمن ٣) قرأ(?) [أ] ثم (?) قا ٤) ل [أ] مين أمين رب ٥) العلمين

O, Allah, forgive (?) Kurayz (?) and whomsoever reads (this) and then says “Amen! Amen! The Lord of the World.”

The difficulty in reading this inscription stems from the fact that the shallow writing was partly defaced, mainly by its exposure to the elements.

L.3: the word *qara’a* is a guess based on the remnants of letters, which look more like *thumma*. However there is no doubt about the reading the following word *thumma*, which leaves *qara’a* as a good guess for this word.

5

Invocation

late 2nd/8th c.

638210. An ashlar of limestone 0.51x0.37m. 5 lines; graffiti, with clear characteristics of the time proposed, badly incised; letters tampered with by later hand. (Fig. 33)

١) اللهم ١) غفر لعبد الملك بن ٢) سهيل وارزقه من لدنك (?) ٤) رحمة (?) انك على كل شيء ٥) قادر

O Allah, forgive ‘Abd al-Malik b. Suhayl, and grant him mercy(?) from your presence for you are all-powerful over everything.

Ll.3-4: I am almost sure about the reading of the name Suhayl, which can

also be Sahl, but I have doubts about the words *ladunika* and *rahmah*, though they fit quite well into the text.

L.5: The last word is clearly *qādir* and not *qadīr*. *Qādir* is not out of place since it represents one of the divine attributes, and appears 7 times in the Qur’ān in connection with God’s omnipotence (Q, 6:37, 65; 17:99; 36:81; 46:33; 75:40; 86:8).

The letters of lines 3-5 were badly damaged by a later hand, however; on the whole the reading of most of the inscription is sure.

6

(?) 2nd / 9th c.

638211. An ashlar of limestone, 0.44x0.32m. with at least 7 lines; small letters; incised; almost completely destroyed by a later hand. Although at first glance the inscription seems clear, there is very little that can be read in it, except for *allahumma* in a later hand superimposed on the earlier text, and probably *mā taqaddama*. It is mentioned here as an example for the state of many of the damaged inscriptions, and left to the readers to propose reading. (Fig. 34)

7

2nd / 9th c.

638220. An ashlar of limestone, 0.37x0.33m. traces of what seems to be 4 lines; the writing is almost completely defaced, and in spite of all my attempts I could not come up with any meaningful reading. Like the previous inscription this one too is reproduced and left unread. The remnants of the script point to the late Umayyad period. From a word in large letters in line 1 it is clear that another hand tampered with the inscriptions in a later date. (Fig. 35)

8

Invocation

2nd / late 8th-early 9th c.

638224. An ashlar of limestone, 0.41x0.33m. 6 lines in one hand, good graffiti, and two lines with the words *allahumma ighfir* superimposed on the right in primitive large letters. The main inscription, highly defaced, requires much guesswork. The first two lines look clear, but as far as I can judge, are almost illegible. (Fig. 36)

(١) (؟) اللهم اغفر لعدي (؟) (٢) ابن شبيب/حبيب (؟) بن مالك (٣) هبه (؟) سؤاله (؟)
(٤) في الدنيا و (٥) الآخرة إنك على (٦) كل شيء قدير

O Allah, forgive ‘Adī b. Shabīb b. Mālik; grant him his request... in this world and the world to come for you are all powerful.

Ll.1-3: These first three lines are all guesswork based on the remnants of letters that I was able to discern. I offer this reading in order to give the inscription some coherence. Future readers I hope will be able to do better.

Ll. 5-6 *innaka ‘alā kulli...* see above No. 3 note to line 5.

9

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

638226. A ashlar of limestone, 0.285x0.27m. top part broken and lost. 7 visible lines; not all readable. Very fine, delicate stylized script, incised by a professional hand using a thin and sharp object. The first part clearly belongs to another text, which had been written on the broken and lost top part of the stone. It is hardly visible and will therefore be discounted. (Fig. 37)

(١) اللهم اغفر لسلمن (٢) بن الحسن انك (٣) على كل شـ [ـيء] (٤) قد [ير] (٥) ...
(٦) ...

O Allah, forgive Salmān b. al-Ḥasan for you are all powerful over everything.

The last two lines are clearly visible but I am unable to come up with any plausible text. On further examination it seems to me that the same invocation is partly repeated. At the end of line 4 I think that I can see the word *allahumma* and at the end of line 5, the words Ibn al-Ḥasan.

10

Invocation

2nd/8th early 9th c.

638227 (Inventory No.112985). An ashlar of limestone, 0.29x0.285m. slightly damaged. 6 lines; crude graffiti, reflecting, however, clearly 2nd/8th early 9th century style. There are many scratches on this inscription that look like incised letters. They are faults in the stone, which were avoided by the writer

(such as in the word *dhanbahu* in line 6). The last part of the inscription involved some guesswork. (Fig. 38, 38a.)

(١) أَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ (٢) عَلَى مُحَمَّد عَبْدكَ (٣) وَرَسُولِكَ (٤) وَنَبِيِّكَ (٥) وَغْفِرْ لَشَيْبِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ (٦) ذَنْبَهُ

O Allah, bless Muḥammad your servant and your messenger and your prophet, and forgive Shabīb. b. Zayd his sin.

Ll.5-6: The name Zayd seems to be the correct reading of the mutilated word.

11

Invocation

Early 3rd/9th c.

638229. An ashlar of limestone. 0.41x0.30m. slightly damaged. 4 lines; incised in good hand; and partly decorated by barbs, most of the letters are fairly clear; one letter (*wāw*) in l.5 was incised below the line. It is possible that the inscription was much larger, and was incised on two more ashlar on both sides of the present one. (Fig. 39)

(١) الرَّبِّيعُ يُؤْمِنُ (٢) بِاللَّهِ... (٣) عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ (٤) الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ ابْنُ (٥) ...
(part of a word) أَبِيرٌ مِنْ يَمْحَاهُ أَوْ يَحُولُهُ

ar-Rabīʿ believes in Allah, the... (?) ‘Abd al-Malik believes in Allah the Omnipotent the most Great ... May he perish whoever defaces it or changes it.

In spite of the relative clarity of the letters at the end of lines 2 and 4, I was unable to arrive at a satisfactory reading. Since in line 4 the writers attached to the name of Allah two of the divine attributes, or “beautiful names,” *al-jabbār* and *al-mutakabbir*, it is very possible that the word that follows Allah at the end of line 2 is also a divine attribute, which I am unable to recognize.

L.5: The line contains a curse or some interdictory formula to prevent tampering with the inscription. It starts at the end of line 4 with a word, which looks like *ibn*. If the inscription was written on more than one stone, then the text at the beginning of line 5, which I am unable to read, represents a longer text which included a name (completing the patronymic beginning with *ibn*) of a person who wished to protect the inscription. It is possible, however, that the last three letters in line 4 connect to the letters at the

beginning of line 5. In such a case the inscription was incised only on this stone. The verb *ubīra* in the passive case (about which I am not sure) is a possibility completing the curse to the abusers in the same way that blessings were reserved for the pious readers (see following inscription).

12

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

638235. An ashlar of limestone 0.48x0.33m. 5 lines; professional angular script; well produced in a good hand. (Fig. 40)

١) أَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِعَامِرِ بْنِ كَعْبٍ (٢) عَبْدِكَ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْهُ وَمَا (٣) تَأَخَّرَ وَأَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ
٤) عَبْدِكَ وَرَسُولِكَ وَعَلَى مَنْ قَرَأَ ثُمَّ قَالَ آمِينَ

O Allah, forgive ‘Āmir b. Ka’b, your servant, his earlier and later (sins). O Allah, bless Muḥammad your servant and messenger and whoever reads (these words) and says, “Amen!”

L.1: The word *li‘āmir* was incised on the stone after it was damaged, which necessitated a long line between the ‘*ayn* and the *alif*. It is possible that another *amīn* was written under line 4 and was destroyed by later hand.

13

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

In *situ*. An ashlar of limestone 0.27x0.35m. 3 lines; professional stylized script representing imperial style of the early Umayyad period. (Fig. 41)

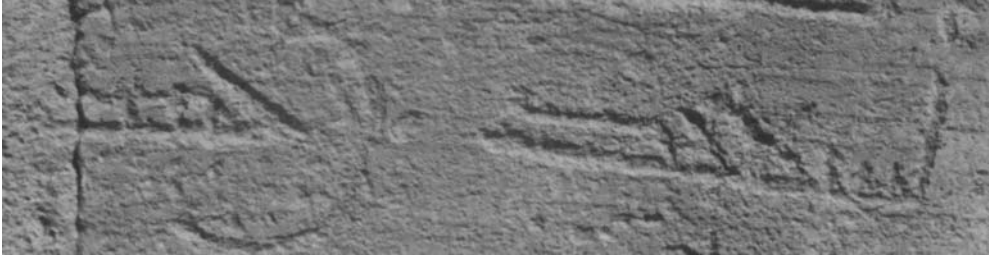
١) أَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ (٢) لِسَالَاخِدِ (?) بَنِي حَمْدٍ/حَمِيدٍ/جُنَيْدٍ [١] (٣) ثَمَّةَ

O Allah, forgive the sin of Salākhid(?) b. Ḥamd/Ḥumayd/Junayd.

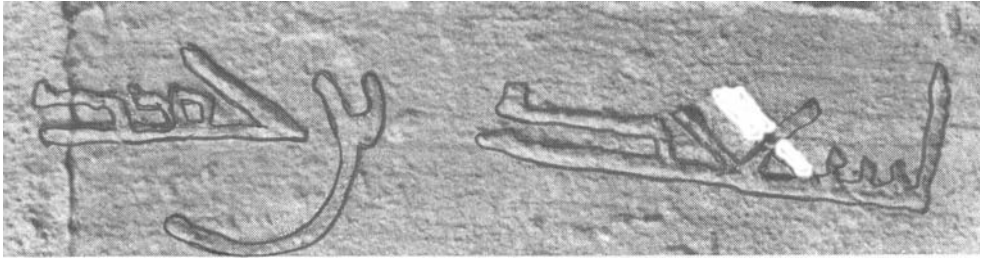
The name Salākhid seems very clear as one can see in the enlargement of the section and its tracing (Pls. 48, 48a). The letters are well defined, but I could not find a name that fits them. The word *salākhid* appears in the dictionaries as the plural of *salakhdāt* and *sillakhd* meaning a strong she camel (*Muḥīt*, 1371/1952–1)313 *s.v.* *sillakhd*). If my reading is right then this is a unique name.

However having gone that far regarding the strange name Salākhid about which I am very skeptical, it is possible that the solution to the reading is

simple: the right diagonal line of what seems to be a *lām’alif*, is a damage in the stone which cut perfectly through the right line of an *‘ayn*. In such a case, as can be seen in Pl. 48, the name is simply Sa’d. I shall leave the puzzle at that, hoping that some better solution will be found for it in the future.



Pl. 48. Inscription 13—original line



Pl. 48a. Original line reconstructed (diagonal line of *lām’alif* removed)

No less problematic is the name of the father. However, here it is very possible that slight damage created lines, which interfere with the original letters. The names offered above are only obvious possibilities. The style of the script belongs definitely to the early Umayyad period; and although the inscription belongs to the corpus of the commonest invocations, the names and the script point to remnants of pre-Islamic tradition.

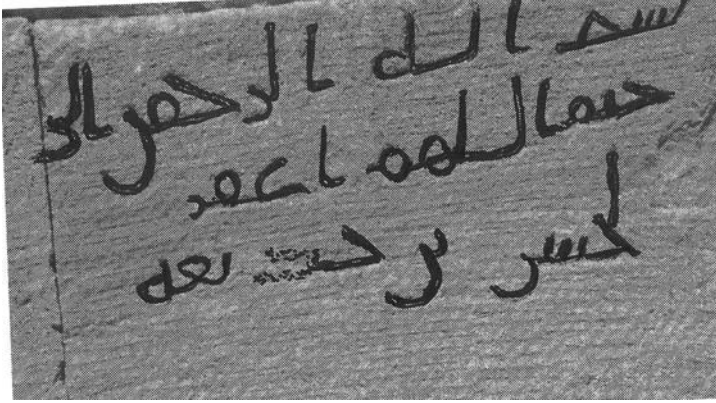
14 Invocation

2nd/8th c.

In situ: An ashlar of limestone 0.34x0.25m. 3 lines; good angular script produced by a professional hand. (Fig. 42; Pl. 49)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) حَيْمُ اللَّهِمَّ اغْفِرْ (٣) لِحَسَنِ بْنِ حَذِيفَةَ

Basmalah. O Allah, forgive Ḥasan b. Ḥudhayfah.



Pl. 49. ‘Ein Zurayb (tracing of Fig. 42)

The beginning with the *basmalah*, of an inscription from this group is very rare. The introduction of the *basmalah*, preceding the usual formula: “*allahumma ighfir*,” could be accidental, but it can point also to more Islamic awareness, since, *allahumma* belongs to the tribal tradition as well as to the Islamic one.

15

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

In *situ*: An ashlar of limestone 0.30x0.29m. Details: same as previous one. (Fig. 43)

١) اللهم <إغفر> لعبد ٢) الله بن أبي خلد ٣) [أ]مين (?)

O Allah, forgive ‘Abdallah b. Abū Khālid. Amen!

The state of the stone, especially line 1, is such that another reading is possible:

١) اللهم ارحم عبد ٢) الله بن أبي خلد ٣) [أ]مين (?)

O Allah, have mercy on ‘Abdallah b. Abū Khālid. Amen!

L. 3: The reading of *āmīn* is doubtful. I could not find another solution to this otherwise clear combination of letters (see no. 16 below). The long letter which I identified as *yā*’ can be *lām*, but then I could not find a good reading for the word.

16

Invocation

2nd/8th c.

In *situ*: An ashlar of limestone. 39x041m. 4 lines; graffiti; with tendency to formal 2nd/8th to early 9th century script. (Fig. 44)

(١) اللَّهُم اغفر لسعد (?) (٢) بن حذيفة امين (٣) <ثم> امين اله مو (٤) سا (!) وابراهيم

O Allah, forgive Sa’d(?) b. Hudhayfah, “Amen!” and once more “Amen!” O, the God of Mūsā! and Ibrāhīm.

L. 1: The name Sa’d is a guess based on the barely visible remnants of the letters.

The invocation of the God of Mūsā and Ibrāhīm is not strange, although somewhat unusual, and deviating from the more common invocation of *rabb Mūsā wa-Hārūn*, (cf. Q. 7:121-122) which can be encountered elsewhere in the desert inscriptions. (Sharon, 1990:16-17 and 16*-17*) This particular inscription mentioning Sa’d b. Hudhayfah (if my reading of Sa’d’s name is correct) could well be a sister inscription of No. 14, above where Ḥasan b. Hudhayfah is mentioned, most probably Sa’d’s brother.

17

late 1st/7th early 2nd/8th c.

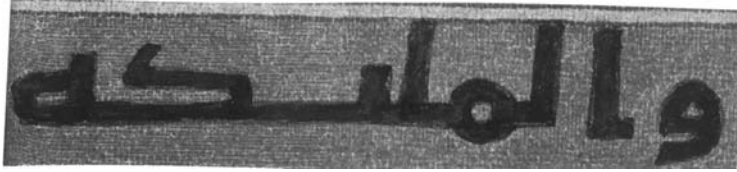
In *situ*: (Reg. No. 106 564): One of two ashlar of limestone broken at the top, (Fig. 45 bottom) 0.41x0.41m. (original size). It was used together with another ashlar (with a graffiti) built on the top of it (Fig. 45 top). The original inscription covered the whole face of the stone. 3 visible lines; incised in excellent, almost imperial, early Umayyad script, clearly produced by a professional hand well trained in the style of writing of the time. Since the top of the inscription was lost, the suggested beginning is a guess. It is inserted here for the complete appearance of the inscription. It is very possible that the top lines included the *Basmalah*. (Fig. 45 bottom)

[... اللَّهُم اغفر لـ... (١) ابن عبد الله ولـ [لمؤ] (٢) منين وللملائكة أجمعين (٣) ولمن قرأه ثم قال [أمين]

(O Allah, forgive)... b. ‘Abdallah and all the believers and all the angels and whomsoever reads it and then says (Amen!).

The style of script in this inscription is very similar, but superior to the script

on an inscription dated “Ramadan” 109/Dec.727-Jan.728 (Hoyland 1977:98-100), and could therefore represent an earlier date, around 80-90/699-709. It is interesting to compare the word *malā’ikah* in the present inscription with the same word in the Dome of the Rock (72/692). In both inscriptions the script show similar features (Pl. 50).



Pl. 50. *wa-al-malā’ikah* from the Dome of the Rock

This places the major body of the early inscriptions in ‘Ein Zurayb at the first half of the 8th century. The difference in the quality of writing, to the exclusion of simple crude and un-datable graffiti, is due to the talent, dexterity and professional ability of the inscribers. (For a full study of inscriptions of the same type, their contents, and context, see Hoyland 1997:77-102).

18

Invocation

Undatable.

638196. (Inventory No. 106564) An ashlar of limestone 0.32x0.26m. first photographed *in situ*, and then removed to the stores of the IAA in Jerusalem. (Fig. 45 top) When discovered, the stone, as can be seen in Fig. 45, was built into the wall of the building above the stone with the previous inscription (No. 17). 3 visible lines; poor graffiti that could have been produced by a later hand, though the spelling and some of the features of the script could point to an earlier date.

(١) أَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ ٢) لَهْلَل [بْن] ٣) <ع—> مَر (?)

O Allah, forgive Hilāl b. ‘Umar (?)

General note:

All the inscriptions from ‘Ein Zurayb come from the ruins of a building, which the archeologist, Y. Porath, identified as a *khān*. The plan of the building, a series of chambers around a central court, makes its identification as a *khān* very possible. The building and the settlement surrounding it positioned near one of the major trade and travel routes connecting the “spice route” (and the Syrian Ḥajj route) with the Mediterranean port of Gaza via the

Negev plateau was a natural halting station just before the travellers began the difficult trip to ‘Avedat (Oboda) (*CIAP* I, *q.v.*).

19

Dated Invocation(?)

180/796-7

638209. An ashlar of limestone 0.45x0.25m. badly damaged, with many holes scattered over its surface, and a large piece broken on the left. 2 lines; graffiti with clear signs of 2nd century style. It seems that the two lines contain fragments of two independent texts, and what looks like line 1, contains in the beginning the usual invocation “O Allah forgive...” and what seems to me to be a date was preceded by a word containing some information relating to the date. (Fig. 46)

١) اللهم اغفر ثمانين و(؟) (٢) مئة

Allah, forgive... eighty and one hundred.

I am almost sure about this reading. However, the condition of the stone and the distortion created by the photograph are very misleading in most of the inscriptions from this site, and this one is no exception. I am aware of the fact that there is not much space before the word *thamanīn* for the names that should come after the invocation *allahumma ighfir*, and that there are signs of letters at the end of the line, which look to me like a *wāw* but could also be read with difficulty as *<sa>nah*. If my reading is correct then this is the first time we encounter an inscription with a date in the ‘Ein Zurayb material. The year 180/796-7 fits well into my estimation that most of the inscriptions from ‘Ein Zurayb belong to the 8th early 9th centuries (see concluding remarks at the end of this entry).

20

638220. (Inventory No. 113839) An Ashlar of limestone 0.35x0.24. damaged on the top right, at the bottom right, and middle left. Incised; no points; no vowels. (Fig. 47, 47a)

The inscription looks very clear, especially in Fig. 47a, which was taken *in situ*. However, all my attempts to arrive at any meaningful reading failed. It does not display any of the usual formulae, but seems to contain some specific information. After trying a few possibilities of reading, I decided to leave the inscription unread hoping that another eye would see what I missed.

21

Early 2nd/8th c.

In situ: An ashlar of limestone 0.45x0.35m. (approx.) its face more than half destroyed. 4 lines, of which only a small part was left; good graffiti; professionally incised with clear elements of late 8th or early 9th century script. (Fig. 48)

(١) اللهم [اغفر ل... (٢) ابن... (٣) حبيب/خطيء—[سته]... (؟) [ورحم ؟] (٣) الله من قال
امين ا[مين]

O, Allah, forgive... b.... Ḥabīb/his transgressions (?) and may Allah forgive whomsoever says “Amen!”

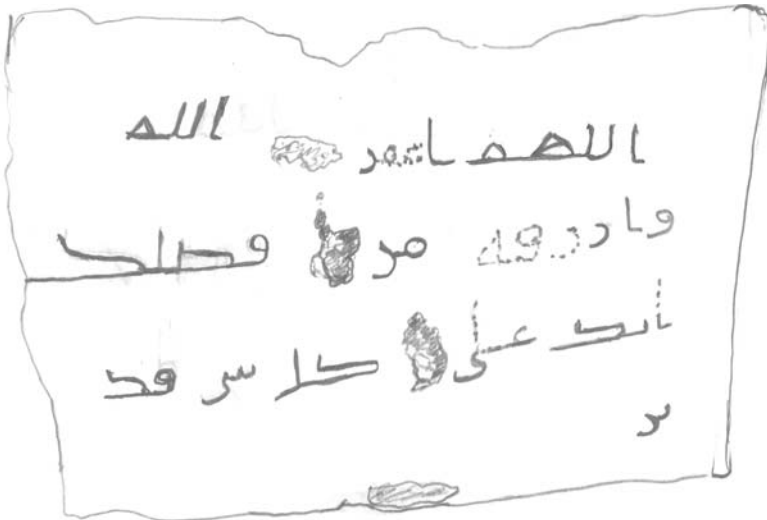
The inscription, except for the last line, is almost completely destroyed, and the above reading is the maximum that I could make of it.

22

Invocation

Late 2nd/early 9th c.

In situ: An ashlar of limestone 0.40x0.30m. (approx.) damaged on top and face. 4 lines; shallow graffiti; incised in a professional hand; clear signs of late 8th early 9th century script. Read and copied *in situ*, but photographed in unfavourable conditions. (Fig. 49, Pl. 51)



Pl. 51. ‘Ein Zurayb 22 (copied *in situ*)

(١) اللَّهُم اغفر... (٢) وار [زقه؟] من فضلك (٣) انك على كل شيء قد (٤) ير

O Allah, forgive... and bestow on him from your bounty for you are all powerful over every thing.

The face of the stone was damaged before the incision of the inscription, since the text avoids the damaged areas. The text itself was also badly damaged, because of the nature of the stones, which are soft and brittle, making them sensitive to the influence of the elements.

The inscription belongs to a group of texts in which the formula “for You are all powerful” (*qadīr*, *muqtadīr*) is used. (See above Nos. 3, 8, 9.)

L.1: The word *allah* (or the beginning of *allahumma*) at the end of the line seems not to belong to this inscription

23

Invocation

Late 2nd/9th c.

In situ. An ashlar of limestone 0.45x0.35m. (approx.) 3 lines; incised in good hand in 8th/9thc Script (Fig. 50)

(١) اللَّهُم اللَّهُم اغفـ[ر] (٢) لصلح بن دهم [و؟] (٣)... اك/اد

O, Allah, O Allah forgive Ṣāliḥ b. Dalham...(?)

It is very possible that the stone was broken on the left to fit the building, after the inscription was incised on it. The two letters *ak/ad* at the beginning of line 3 are almost surly the end of a word in line 2. I guess that the inscription was not finished and the writer wanted probably to write something like *wa-adkhillhu al-jannah* (and grant him Paradise) or a similar invocation.

L.2: The name Ṣāliḥ is sure and the name *Dalham* seems also sure, it is not common but it is a known name of an Arab. Ṭabarī mentions in the year 68 a warrior by the name of Dalham al-Murādī. (Ṭabarī, 2:774)

24

Invocation

2nd/late 8th c.

In situ. An ashlar of limestone 0.38x0.34m. (approx.). 3 lines; worn out graffiti with clear signs of formal writing; incised shallow letters. (Fig. 51)

(١) اغفر اللهم (٢) لجابر (٣) ذنبه ولولديه

Forgive, O Allah, the sin of Jābir and that of his parents.

L.1: The word *allahumma* is not clear but so is most of the inscription. There are enough remnants however to make this reading plausible.

Ll.2-3: The name Jābir seems clear, as well as the word *dhanbahu*. On further examination using a simple photocopy, I am sure that I can see the word *wa-liwālidayhi*. (without an *alif*)

This and similar formulae are not unusual in inscriptions of this type. One such example is an inscription 1.10x0.15m. that I found on a rock at Haḍbat Ḥajjāj in northern Sinai, and published in 1993. 2 lines; incised in good Umayyad script, late 1st/early 8th century. (Pl. 52)

25

Invocation



Pl. 52. Haḍbat Ḥajjāj—Sinai (photograph and tracing)

(١) أللهم اغفر للبدر بن هاشم الايلي ولولديه (٢) وللمؤمنين والمؤمنات (٣)

O, Allah, forgive al-Badir b. Hāshim al-Aylī and his parents and the believers—men and women. (Sharon, *IEJ*, 43(1) 1993:55-56 with a correction of a printing mistake).

25

Declaration of faith

Late 2nd/ 19th c.

638205. An ashlar of limestone; its face worn out 0.27x0.30. with remnants of short inscription, 2 lines; graffiti with signs of formal writing. (Fig. 52)

(١) العباس يؤمن (٢) [بالله؟]

Al-‘Abbās believes in Allah

The word Allah in the second line is completely destroyed but I cannot think about another word for this simple declaration of faith.

26

1st-2nd/8th-9th c.

An ashlar of limestone 0.30x0.23m. (approx.) IAA inventory no. 113853. 4 lines; good graffiti with clear signs of formal late 8th early 9th century script. Line 1 could be part of another inscription. (Fig. 53 courtesy IAA).

(١) الكتاب (٢) اللهم اغفـ[ر] (٣) لعبد الله بن (٤) علي ...

...The book(?) O Allah, forgive ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alī ...

There are clear signs of another two words at least in line 4 which I am unable to read. The word *al-kitāb* in line 1 seems clear but it does not fit into the rest of the inscription.

27

Graffiti

Late 1st/8th c.

638198 (IAA inventory No. 106433). An ashlar of limestone 0.37x0.15 m. 2 lines; graffiti with clear signs of formal late 1st/8th Century script (Fig. 54)

(١) كتب (٢) كريب

Wrote Kuryab.

The letter *kāf* in the first and the second lines occupies almost the whole line.

28

Invocation

Late 1st/8th c.

In situ. An ashlar of limestone (IAA inventory No. 113854; measurements unavailable), broken at the bottom left; face worn out; originally 7 lines at least; six of which can be read with difficulty. (Fig. 55)

١) اللهم اغفر لشبيب ٢) ابن صلح (!) ولولديه ٣) وما ولدا والمؤمنين ٤) والمؤمنات ٥) وكتب
٦) شبيب (?) بن ...

O Allah, forgive Shabīb b. Ṣāliḥ and his parents and their descendents and the believers, men and women, and wrote (this) Shabīb (?) b.

For comments on a similar inscription see above no. 24.

Concluding note

The 28 inscriptions from ‘Ein Zurayb surveyed above represent about two thirds of the epigraphic find in the site. The rest are in a very bad condition and though it is possible to decipher scattered words in them, these cannot add much to the information gleaned from the better-preserved ones. A few important conclusions may be drawn from these inscriptions that fall within the scope of similar inscriptions scattered throughout the Negev, Sinai, northern and western Arabia as well as in many sites in the Syrian Desert. The conclusion, which comes immediately to mind is that all these inscriptions represent a rather short period 1st to early 3rd century AH (late 7th to 9th century CE). The style of writing is an important factor for determining the approximate dates of the inscriptions. However, since a few inscriptions exhibiting the same style of script are dated, we are on much safer ground in dating the bulk of this type of epigraphic find. By way of example I wish to refer to two inscriptions from the Negev plateau, and two from northwestern Arabia.

The first one is from Wādī ‘Abdeh (Hebrew: Naḥal ‘Avdat) in the Negev, the 3 line inscription was incised in the brown patina of the rock exposing its calcareous white colour. (L. 1: 0.55m. L. 2: 0.70m. L. 3: 1.30 m.) The inscription was first published in 1990 (Sharon, 1990:14*, 48 Fig. 12 IV) and this is a re-edition with some corrections (Pl. 53).



Pl. 53. Dated inscription from the Negev 119/737

(١) اللهم اغفر لورد بن سالم ما تقدّم من ذنبه وما تأخّر (٢) واتم نعمتك عليه واهدده صراطاً مستقيماً أمين رب (٣) العلمين رب موسى وهرون ولما قرى (!) ولما قال [ل] أمين كتب في سنة تسع عشرة ومئة على خليفة هشام

O Allah, forgive Ward b. Sālim's earlier and later sins, and complete your grace to him and guide him in the right path (*cf.* Q. 48:2). Amen, the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron; (and forgive also) whomever reads (this writing) and says "Amen!" It was written in the year nineteen and one hundred during the Caliphate of Hishām.

L. 3: Note spelling particularly of *qara'a* and *khilāfah*).

The second one comes from an area known locally as "*el-mteirdek*" classical: *al-Mutayridah*. (Hebrew: Ramat Maṭrēd) over looking Wādī 'Abdeh. (Sharon, 1990:22*, 52 Fig. 66) It was also incised in the black-brown patina of the rock exposing its calcareous white colour. The 11 lines are arranged in an area left by an inscription from about the same period on the top left-hand, and the incised drawings of the camel driver, camels and gazelles on the right. The 11 lines were arranged in the free space on both sides of a crack in the rock. The writer is not too skilled with his tools but well acquainted with the language and the style of writing of the time. He began the inscription on the left side of the crack and found himself obliged to continue on the right side. This is a new edition with corrections. (Pl. 54)



Pl. 54. Dated inscription from the Negev 117/735

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) اللهم اغفر لحسن بن ميسرة (؟) ولو (٣) لديه (!) وما ولدا امين رب محمد و (٤) برهيم اللهم اجعل عملي جهدا [١] (٥) واجبا وافني (؟) استشهد قي سبيلك (٦) وكتب حسن يوم (٧) الثالث (٨) في ثمان بقين من ربيع الول (!) وفيه توفوا (٩) بني (!) حاتم يرحمهم الله جميعا (١٠) وهو في سنة سبعة عشر (!) ومئة (١١) سنة (؟)

Basmalah. O Allah, have mercy on Ḥasan b. Maysarah and on his two parents and on their decedents. Amen, O Lord of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. O, Allah, cause my deeds to be regarded an act of obligatory Jihād, and grant me martyrdom in thy path. Ḥasan wrote (it) on Tuesday 23 Rabīʿ I, and in it died Banū Ḥātim, may Allah have mercy on them all. It is in the year seventeen and one hundred.

Ll.7-8: 23 Rabīʿ I, 117 falls according to our calculations on Friday, 22 April 735.

It seems obvious that the writer because of his unskilled hand and probably hasty manner missed letters. He was however, very particular in dating his writing down to the day and in quoting the death of certain Banū Ḥātim. The spirit of Jihād should be noted (l.5). It is very evident in the invocatory inscriptions of the period.

The third and forth examples come from North Arabia near the oasis of Ḥā'il (*Atlat* 2, 1988:71) The one finishes with the date of one hundred and fifty (=767) and the other with the month of "Shawwāl in the year one hundred and thirty two (=14 May–10 June 750)." The publication does not supply the Arabic original or a good reproduction

I do not have a clear answer to the question as to why almost all the rock inscriptions as well as inscriptions that belong to this category of stylized graffiti belong to a certain, rather short period of the first two centuries of Islam—between the end of the 7th century to the end of the 9th. The discovery of Greek inscriptions *in situ* may help to establish the earliest date of the inscriptions from 'Ein Zurayb as well as the inscriptions from Dayr Dubbān (*q.v.*)

The 3 lines Greek fragment from 'Ein Zurayb (Neg. No. 638240) was inscribed on a slab of limestone 20x0.10m. in capital letters (Fig. 56). It seems to me to have the following text, the study of which I leave to experts in Greek epigraphy.

1) ΔΑΝ ... 2) ΑΓΩΝ (?)... 3) ΚΥΡ...

If this inscription represents, as I think, still the remnants of the Greek cultural heritage then it must have come from the very late Byzantine or very early Islamic period. The route was busy with travelers either to St. Catherine monastery in Sinai or to Eilat. Travellers and merchants continued to frequent the routes along the 'Arabah valley crossing the Negev plateau to

Gaza all along the Umayyad and very early ‘Abbāsid periods. The mood of the time is well preserved in the inscriptions: The spirit of *jihād*, the belief in one God, and the prayers for the Prophet.

Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (65/685–86/705) propagating the Islamic idea of one God who has no companion (*lā ilāha illā allah waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu*) on every silver and gold coin that the caliph minted from about 696 onwards, and on almost every official inscription must have become a sign of piety which found its way to private inscriptions as well. One such inscription was found in Rujm Šfār (Modern Hebrew: *Rogem Tzafār*)—a late Roman and Byzantine fort and inn on the “Spice Route” from the northern ‘Arabah to Gaza, Hebron and Jerusalem via the Mountain pass known as “The Scorpion Pass,” (Arabic: Naqb aṣ-Ṣufayy). The inscription was left probably by one of the Muslim travelers who used the site that had already been in ruins as a halting station before beginning the difficult ascent northwestwards to the Negev plateau. The 3-line inscription (0.45x0.21m.) in stylized early 2nd/8th century script was shallowly incised on an ashlar (1.00x0.46m.) of local limestone, which had been used in the building of the fort, and found on the ground near its gate (Fig. 57a, b). It reads as follows:

(١) انا يوسف بن زياد (٢) الأيلي لا أشرك بالله (٣) شيئاً

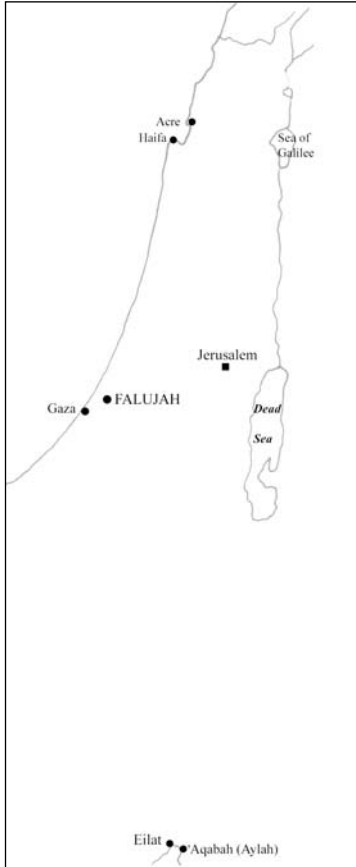
I Yūsuf b. Ziyād al-Aylī (of Ayla, Eilath) do not associate anything with Allah.

Such a declaration of faith falls well into the mood of the time.

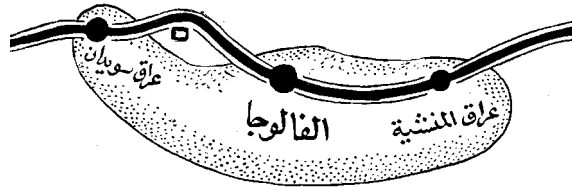
By the end of the 2nd/early 9th century, after the fall of the Umayyads and the establishment of the ‘Abbāsid new rule in Iraq, the old spice route must have ceased to function. and was replaced by the Ḥajj route from Damascus and Egypt (via northern Sinai). The ‘Abbāsids, either deliberately or not, did not pay the same attention to Syria, as the Umayyads did. Nomads encroached from the south and occupied the desert areas as far as the sedentary regions in central Palestine. In the excavations of the site at ‘Ein Zurayb, this nomadic phase is very clear: the first layer (representing the last occupants) that the excavators encountered was the dung of the Bedouin herds. Since literate people—merchants and other travelers—who merely passed through the area, incised the inscriptions, their abrupt end should be related to the coming of the mostly illiterate nomads who did not pass through the area but lived in it. Indirectly, therefore, the inscriptions, which are otherwise no more than repetitive invocations, could well point to the social and economic change in the desert areas following the ‘Abbāsid takeover.

FĀLŪJAH

Is. Gr. 126 114 (N. Is. Gr. 176-614)



A village northeast of Gaza, now extinct. The above transcript of the name follows the *SWP*, 3: 260 (“Fālūjeh”) and *Index II* (Name list of sheet XX p.367: الفالوجة) bearing in mind that the *SWP* transcribed the vowel ending with *tā’ marbūṭah* as “*eh*.” This is also the transcript adopted by the Atlas of Israel (Sheet IX/11) and modern Palestinian maps. Guérin, (*Judée*, 2, 1869:122-123), however, has the name Fālūjā (فالوجا), and this is the name that appears in an Egyptian map of the area where an Egyptian brigade was besieged by the Israeli forces during the 1948 war (“al-Fālūjā pocket” Pl. 55). Following the war the village fell into ruin, and since most of it was built of mud bricks it has practically disappeared.



Pl. 55. Al-Fālūjā—Egyptian map 1948

The village under this name does not appear in the sources before the Ottoman period when the village was the seat of the local administrative head—*mudīr*—of a sub district—*nāḥiyah*—(Atlas of Israel *loc. cit.*). Guérin (*ibid.*,) found a village built with unfired mud bricks. The number of its inhabitants was then 600 and it gave the impression of being clean and somewhat prosperous. He did not seem to find any thing of interest in it besides three broken ancient marble columns, but he mentions the local “*wālī*” without adding either name or description. The report of the *SWP* (*ibid.*,) does not add much to this description. The village was built in a very important strategic location: the crossroads of the Jerusalem—Ashqelon (‘Asqalān), and the Jaffa—Gaza routes.

The Muslims captured the territory around the main road from Gaza to Jerusalem from the Crusaders after the Battle of Hittin, (1187) and they retained it also after the Jaffa truce agreement of 2nd September 1192 between Saladin and Richard Lion Heart. The Crusaders domains after this agreement that included a narrow strip along the coast did not extend much below Jaffa. (Prawer, 2, 1984:92) Only in 1241 the Crusaders returned to rule Ascalon and the routes leading from it to Jerusalem and the Jordan, but only for 3 years. (See above, Addendum to *CIAP*, 2, s.v. “Bayt Jibrīn (Jubrīn)”

The inscription from the Ayyūbid period that was found at the local shrine, points to the fact that at least the sanctuary (*maqām*) must have existed already in the Middle Ages, unless the inscription was brought from elsewhere and fixed over its gate. There is no sign that under the Crusaders, the Ayyūbids, or the Mamlūks, Fālūjah existed as a settlement, but its vicinity was a scene of numerous military encounters between the Muslims and the Franks. That a local Muslim saint was born out of these encounters is not impossible. Even as late as the 19th century the tomb of the General Louis Maximilien Caffarelli near Acre (‘Akkā) was turned by local legend into *maqām* ash-Shaykh Kaffārī. (*CIAP*, 1:76-77) The mosque and *maqām* at Fālūjah bears the same name as the village. It is ash-Shaykh Aḥmad Fālūjah (or al-Fālūjī). The mosque consisted of a court with two arcades, one to the south and one to the west. At the southwest corner between the two arcades was the *walī*. (In the words of Baramki’s report, IAA files “al-Fālūja,” 10 Dec. 1943) The inscription was fixed over the door of the *maqām*.

Solitary sanctuaries (*walī*, *shaykh*, *maqām*) are very common feature in the Middle East and North Africa in general. Tewfik Canaan supplied many examples for the various categories of these sanctuaries, which are to this day sites of popular veneration. (Canaan, 1927:46ff.)

1

Construction text

621/1224

Probably 3 lines; Ayyūbid *naskh*. The following text is Baramki’s reading, included in his report from 10 December, 1943 in the files of the IAA at the Rockefeller Museum (PAM) in Jerusalem. No measurements and no Photograph. The reading does not make reference to the numbers of the lines. (Pl. 56) I added the line numbers as a guess to facilitate reference to the inscription, and indicate the lines in Baramki’s copy by a slash.

Inscription over door of Maḥam
in Fālūjah Mosque

بسمه وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد
هَذَا مَا أَنشَيْتُ وَعَمَّرْتُ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا
السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الْمُعْظَمِ شَرَفِ الدُّنْيَا
وَالدِّينِ سُلْطَانَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ
قَامَعَ الْكُفْرَ وَالْمُشْرِكِينَ عَيْسَى
ابْنِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعْظَمِ الْعَادِلِ
سَيْفِ الدِّينِ أَبُو بَكْرٍ ابْنُ أَيُّوبَ بَتُولِي
الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ بِرَحْمَةِ رَبِّهِ مَسْعُودُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ
الْمُعْظَمِيِّ وَذَلِكَ فِي شَهْرِ جُمَادَى سَنَةِ
أَحَدِي وَعَشْرِينَ وَ...

Pl. 56. Inscription from Fālūjah: Baramki's copy (Courtesy IAA)
Jumādā I-II(?) 621/June-July 1224

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد/ هذا ما أنشئت وعُمر في أيام مولانا/
السلطان الملك المعظم (٢) شرف الدنيا/ والدين سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين/ قَامَعَ الْكُفْرَ
والمشركين عيسى/ بن مولانا السلطان المعظم العادل/ سيف الدين ابو بكر ابن ايوب (٣) بتولي/
العبد الفقير لرحمة (Baramki: برحمة) ربه مسعود بن محمد/ المعظمي وذلك في شهر
جمادى سنة/ احدى وعشرين و[ستمائة]

Basmalah. And may Allah bless our Master Muḥammad. This is what was established and built in the days of our lord the sultān al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam the glory of the world and of the Faith the Sultān of Islām and the Muslims, the subduer of the unbelievers and the polytheists ‘Isā the son of our lord the glorified Sultān the righteous (*al-‘Ādil*) Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb under the supervision of the servant who is in need for his God’s mercy Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Mu‘azzamī, and this (took place) on the month of Jumādā (I?II?) the year 601 (=June-July 1224).

-L.1: Baramki: بسملة

L.3: Baramki: *birahmat*. I changed the text to conform to the usual formulae in such cases. The usual formula however is *ilā rahmat rabbihi* (e.g. CIA, *Jerusalem*, "Haram," 2:37, No. 152; Sharon, 1977:182) The word in square brackets, indicating the year 600 is missing in the original inscription, and Baramki pointed to its absence by dots.

The word "six hundred" is the only possible missing text at the end of the inscription completing the date to the 621. Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā died at the end of 624/1227.

L.2: Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Sharaf ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was born in Cairo in 576/1180-81, grew up in Damascus and received an excellent traditional Islamic education both there and in Egypt. He was famous for his deep knowledge of *fiqh* especially of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, which he supported zealously, being the only member of the Ayyūbid family to follow this school of Islamic law. During the wars with the Franks, led by his uncle Saladin, he was in charge of the intelligence system, the operation of which is related in detail by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī. (*Mirʾāt*, 8(2):646-647. This information seems doubtful, since at the time he was less than 13 years old, though it cannot be ruled out.

Three years after Saladin's death (589/1193), al-Malik al-ʿĀdil managed to seize control of Syria and depose its ruler, his nephew al-Afdal. He nominated his son, Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, ruler of Karak. By 599/1202, when al-ʿĀdil had become sole ruler of both Egypt and Syria, ʿĪsā was nominated as ruler of Syria. (Ibn al-Athīr, 12:471-472; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, 5, 332-333; Setton, 2, 1962:693-696) Officially on his father's orders, but acting on his own initiative, he launched many building projects all over Syria, most of which were of a religious and benevolent nature. He paid attention especially to the Ḥajj route from Syria, which he fortified and supplied with water facilities. (*Mirʾāt*, *loc.cit.*) We know many of his building enterprises, unrecorded by the literary sources, from his inscriptions. (Sharon, 1977:183-186.)

When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil died in Damascus, in 615/1218, following the fall of the Chain Tower defending Damietta into the hands of the Crusaders, (Ibn al-Athīr, *vol. cit.*, 323-324), his son al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, who was at that time in Palestine, assumed power in Damascus. Faithful to his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, and because of the grave situation presented by the Fifth Crusade, he recognized al-Kāmil's right to inherit the Sultanate. In practice, however, he was the Sultan of the Syrian domains. (Setton, *vol. cit.*, 699) A year earlier, whilst his father was still alive and preoccupied in

defending Egypt, he was sent with a small contingent to observe Crusader movements in Syria.

The fall of Damietta in 616/1218 and the death of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil were followed by disturbances in Egypt, led against al-Malik al-Kāmil by Ibn al-Mashtūb. (Ibn Khaldūn, *vol. cit.*, 345; Ibn al-Athīr, *vol. cit.*, 324-325) Muʿazzam ʿĪsā came to his brother’s aid, and together they overcame the rebels and were able to concentrate their attention on the military operations around Damietta.

Most of the Ayyūbid forces were concentrated in Egypt, and Syria was left with no proper defense. It was feared that a sudden attack by the Franks would enable them to take most of the fortresses in the country, including Jerusalem. It was therefore decided to dismantle the fortresses of Palestine, chiefly the walls of Jerusalem. At the beginning of 616/March 1219, Jerusalem’s fortifications were destroyed and its inhabitants sent into exile. Before this destruction, and alongside it, the fortresses of Mount Tabor built only eight years earlier (Ibn al-Athīr, *vol. cit.*, 323; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Ṭūr), Toron, Bāniyās and Ṣafad were also dismantled. The destruction of Jerusalem was a terrible shock to the Islamic world, and Muslim historians—especially those who witnessed the event or its consequences, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāmah, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and Yāqūt—describe it with great emotion, some with understanding and others with open criticism. When the decision to dismantle the wall of Jerusalem was taken, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, ʿĪsā’s brother (ruled Bāniyās between 608/1211 and 630/1233, and built the fortress of aṣ-Ṣubaybah. *CIAP*, 2, 1999:56ff), was in command of the city, together with the Ustādār ʿIzz ad-Dīn Aybak. They sought to reverse al-Muʿazzam’s decision, or at least delay it, but to no avail. The fear of a Frankish onslaught on Syria was so pressing that he wrote to his brother (according to Abū Shāmah):

“If they (the Franks) take it (Jerusalem), they will surely kill everyone in it and will rule Damascus and the whole of Syria...” “The need compelled them to destroy it. They began (dismantling) the city-walls on the first day of Muḥarram (616/19th March, 1219) amidst the tumult of the town which rose as if it were the Day of Judgment. Women and girls, young and old, lads and children, all went to the Ṣakhrah and to Masjid al-Aqṣā, tore their hair and clothes until the Ṣakhrah and the *miḥrāb* of the Aqṣā were filled with hair. They fled from the city and left their property and belongings behind...” (Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim*, 115 essentially citing Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī.)

Muʿazzam ʿĪsā died at the end of 624/1227, amidst general grief, but not before giving another order for further destruction of Jerusalem, and other fortresses in Syria, alarmed by the preparations in Acre for a new crusade

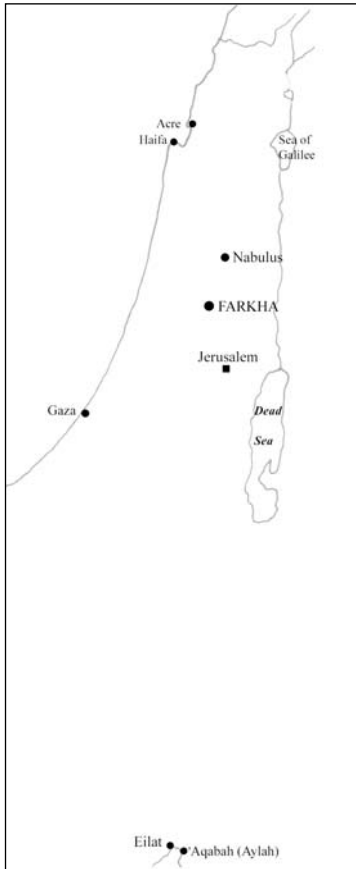
by the Emperor Frederick II. (Sibt b. al-Jawzī, *op. cit.*, 647-648; Ibn al-Athīr, *vol. cit.*, 471-472; Setton, *vol. cit.*, 701. More on the biography of Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, Dār Šāder, 3, 1973:495; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, Dār al-Fikr, 5, 115-116)

Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā’s construction projects are very impressive even if one takes into consideration only the buildings from which inscriptions remained. Seeing that new inscriptions are still discovered from time to time it is clear that many works attributed to this Sultan have since disappeared. The inscription found in Bayt Jibrīn commemorating the building of an inn (*funduq*, see Addendum to *CIAP*, 2, in this volume) and the present inscription from the sanctuary at Fālūjah as well as his numerous buildings at the Ḥaram in Jerusalem, demonstrate his famous Islamic piety coupled with his interest in providing necessary facilities to travelers on the main roads in his domains. This included payment of attention even to a local sanctuary that must have been popular, on one of the major routes of Syria. It should be emphasized that both the Fālūjah sanctuary and the inn at Bayt Jibrīn were situated on the same travellers routes leading from Gaza to Jerusalem and Damascus.

The chief inspector or supervisor of the work Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad was attached by *walā’* (allegiance) to Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā as can be learnt from his *nisbah* “al-Mu‘azzamī.” I could not find, however, any information about him in the sources.

FARKHAH (FARKHĀ)

Is. Gr. 164 164 (N. Is. Gr 214 664)



A small village built on a steep hilltop, 500m. above sea level, in the heart of Samaria, southwest of the small town of Salfit. Samaritans populated it until the Arab conquest, and probably throughout the Umayyad period. Under the Crusaders its name is not mentioned, but its location suggests that it was included in the Royal Domain of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. (Riley-Smith, *Atlas*, 1991: 36-37) In 1187, after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn, it came under Ayyūbid rule. In Islamic literature its name appears connected with the name of a Muslim scholar, ‘Abdallah b. Abū ‘Abdallah al-Farkhāwī (d. 818/1415). In his biography, as-Sakhāwī remarked that the *nisbah* al-Farkhāwī refers to the village of Farkhā, which he spells with a long “ā” (also Guérin, *Samarie*, 2, 1875:159) adding that it was a village in the district of Nābulus. (Sakhāwī, *Daw’*, 5:29) Except for this remark I found no other mention of the village in the literary sources. This fact grants the present Ayyūbid inscription, found in the village and mentioning its name, particular significance.

The village seems to have enjoyed prosperity, as it does today, especially from its olive groves and other fruit trees. In the 19th century it is described as a rather large place situated on a mountain. (Guérin, *loc. cit.*) In the village and its immediate vicinity to the south there are three sacred tombs of local saints, Ḥaram an-Nabī Shūt (SWP, 2:284), Shaykh Abū ‘Abd and Shaykh Ḥusayn. (Is. Gr. 164 163 N. Is. Gr. 214 663) Tewfik Canaan reported that at the top of the ascent to Farkhah there were heaps of stones created by travellers throughout the ages. They were locally called *mafazāt* (sing. colloq. *mafāzeh*). He explains that although the word in classical Arabic means desert, “here it denotes success in overcoming dangerous difficulty.” The traveller “after climbing a high mountain raises

a heap of stones or throws a stone on an existing heap, saying at the same time a prayer.” (Canaan, 1927:76 and n.4) The fountain of ‘Ayn Yanbū‘ah, in the valley, gives a fine supply of water and there are two other springs east of the village.

Abel identified Farkhah with the town of Perekh, mentioned in the Talmudic literature (Mishnah, ‘*Orlah*, 3:7; Tosephtah, *Demay*, 1:11; BT, *Beṣah*, 3b, *Yebamoth*, 81b, ‘*Abodah Zarah*, 74a, *Zebaḥīm*, 72b. Abel, 2:407) It is possible, however, that the term אגוזי פֶּרֶךְ—Nuts of Perekh in these texts mean a certain type of brittle nuts, this in addition to the indication to the Perekh as a name of a place.

1

Reconstruction and endowment text

15 Shawwāl 606/12 April 1210

A slab of limestone, 0.52x0.42m. broken into five pieces; none missing, kept in the village mosque. Baramki prepared the first report about the inscription in 1937. It was then already broken and only four of its five fragments were available to him. He offered the reading of these parts (Pl. 57) and prepared a squeeze of them. This squeeze was the only available source for later editions. There are however, photographs of the fragments, but for some reason the photograph of the missing part in the squeeze eluded somehow the eyes of the previous scholars who re-read the inscription. It seems however that the fifth fragment was lost, after all, sometime before 1937, since today the existing fragments are the ones from which the squeeze had been prepared.

The inscription consists of 10 lines, incised in monumental, typical Ayyūbid *naskh*; furnished with diacritical points, and many vowels. With the photographic reproduction of the missing part found, it is now complete except for a few damaged letters along the break lines. IAA (PAM) squeeze: S 104. Publication of 4 pieces only: Baramki in PAM file ATQ/165; Sukenik 24, Ben Horin (all without translation) 26. In what follows is the first publication of the whole inscription (Fig. 58)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ انَّمَا يَغْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ (٢) مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ جُدَّدَ هَذَا
 الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكِ (٣) مِنْ مَالِ أَهْلِ الْقَرْيَةِ الْمَعْرُوفِ [ة] بِفَرَاخَةٍ مِنْ أَعْمَالِ مَدِينَةِ نَا (٤) يُلْسِ
 الْمَحْرُوسَةِ خَاصَّةً أَحْتِسَابَ (٥) لَوَجْهِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَ (٥) ابْتِغَاءَ رِضْوَانِهِ وَتَوَلُّوا (٦) عَمَلُهُ مَنْصُورِ
 بِنِ ابْنِ (٦) الْفَوَارِسِ وَكَامِلِ بْنِ سَنَانٍ وَنَاصِرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ [مَد] الْفُقَرَاءِ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ [لِلَّهِ]

Phot. No. 2946
Squeeze No. 1074

10 line. Naskhi.

Text:

١. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ
٢. مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدُ الْمُبَارَكُ
٣. مِنْ مَالِ أَهْلِ الْقَرْيَةِ الْمَعْرُوفَةِ بِفَرْخَةَ مِنْ أَعْمَالِ مَدِينَةِ نَابُلُسَ
٤. بِلِسْنِ الْمَدْرُوسَةِ خَاصَّةً احْتِسَابَ نَوْجِهِ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ
٥. ابْتِغَاءَ رِضْوَانِهِ وَتَوَلَّوْا (رَغْمَهُ) عَمَلَهُ مَنْشُورُ بْنُ أَبِي (عَنْهُ) الْفَوَارِسِ
٦. وَكَامِلُ بْنُ سَهْلٍ وَنَاصِرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ [الْفَرْخَةُ] [الْقَرْيَةُ] [الْمَدِينَةِ] رَحِمَهُمُ اللَّهُ
٧. وَأَوْقَفَ عَلَيْهِ الْأَمِيرُ الْأَكْبَرُ
٨. اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِ الْقَرْيَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ كُلِّ
٩. صُورِيَّةٍ ابْتِغَاءً [رِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ وَتَوَلَّوْا] رَحِمَهُمُ اللَّهُ
١٠. شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ سِتٍّ وَسِتِّ مِائَةٍ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ

Pl. 57. Farkhah. Baramki's original reading (courtesy IAA)

(٧) وأوقف عليه الأمير الأجل الكبير بهـ [الـ] ـدين الوداخ (؟) (بن عبد ٨) الله من فصل القرية المذكورة كل سنة ثلاث دنانير (٩) صورة ابتغاء رضوان الله وملك دار الآخرة وذلك لا (١٠) استقبال شوال سنة ست وستمئة وصلى الله على محمد

Basmalah. They only shall manage (visit, perform the 'umrah to) Allah's places of worship who have believed in Allah and the Last Day. (Q, 9:18; trans. Bell) This blessed mosque was renewed particularly by the funds of the inhabitants of the village known (by the name of) Farkhah that belongs to the sub district of the divinely protected town of Nābulus, as a pious deed for the sake of Allah—the exalted—and seeking His approval. Those who assumed charge of the work were Manṣūr b. Abū al-Fawāris and Kāmil b. Sinān (or Sayyār) and Nāṣir b. Muḥammad who are all in need for Allah's compassion. And the most exalted the great Amīr Bahā' ad-Dīn Alūdākh(?) b. 'Abd Allah has endowed for it from the (income of the) *faṣal* of the aforementioned village every year three Tyrian dīnārs seeking the approval of Allah and (hoping to) gain the abode of the world to come. And this took place on the full moon of the month of Shawwāl the year 606 (=12.4.1210) and may Allah bless Muḥammad.

This is definitely a monumental inscription, produced by a skillful hand representing all the characteristics of the Ayyūbid script of the time of al-ʿĀdil (596/1200–615/1218) and al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā (615/1218–624/1227). Its provinciality might be detected, if one wishes, in the vowelling which does not always agree with the rules, and in three grammatical errors: in line

4 the word *ih̥tisāb* in the nominative instead of *ih̥tisāban* in the accusative (*mafūl li'ajlihi*); in line 5 the verb *tawallaw* in the plural instead of *tawalla* in the singular; the patronymic *Abū al-Fawāris* in the nominative instead of *Abī al-Fawāris* in the genitive.

Ll. 7-10: The fragment containing the last third of these lines, was available neither to D.C. Baramki who read it first *in situ* in November 1937 (IAA (PAM) Rockefeller Museum file ATQ/165), nor to the former editors of the inscription, Sukenik (and Ben Horin) who used the squeeze copy of 4 out of the 5 fragments of the inscription. I found a photograph of the lost fifth fragment in the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) files, and bringing it to the same scale as that of the existing photograph of the squeeze, I was able to put together the whole inscription. (Fig. 58)

L. 6: *Sinān*. The former edition of the inscription suggested Sahl (Baramki), *sinār* and *sayyār* (Sukenik, Ben Horin). I think that the very popular name *Sinān* is clear. (Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 4, 1990:439-443) Ibn Mākūlā suggested the variants of *Sayyār*, *Shubbān*, and *Shabbān*. (*Ibid.*, 423 ff.)

L.7: *Alūdākh*. The reading of this name, although plausible, is a guess. The letters are clear, but the many points scattered over them cannot be related to any of them. There can be a remote possibility to read the letter *wāw* as *fr* or *qr* and the name, therefore, as *al-Qardāh* or *al-Fardāj* or some other combination, to which I could find no samples in the literature. Only the name *al-Fardāj* was found. It belonged to a Muslim scholar from Qinnasrīn: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Barakah b. al-Ḥakam b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Fardāj (d.328/939-40) (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4, 1979:404b; Sam'ānī, *ansāb*, 4, 1988:363). However, the Amīr Bahā' ad-Dīn in our inscription is a first generation Mamlūk, and therefore, he has a Turkish name, and, as a convert to Islam, his father's name was the fictional 'Abdallah ("the servant of Allah"). The name *Alūdākh* could well just be another way of transcribing the Turkish *Alūdāgh* ("high mountain;" contribution of R. Amitai).

The common title Bahā' ad-Dīn appears in the late medieval literature attached to many names: Aṣlam (Zetterstéen, 1919:171-172, 178, 187, 219); Bughdī (*ibid.*, 24); Raslān (*ibid.*, 108, 130, 131, 133, 134, 166); Qarāraslān (*ibid.*, 53); Qarāqūsh (*ibid.*, 28, 52, Ibn Khallikān, 4, 1971:91-92; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 13:29; 14:79; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1(1):158); Qutlūshāh (Zetterstéen, 1919:75-77). I could, however, find nothing in the literature about him or about the other persons mentioned in the inscription (ll. 5-6).

L. 7-8: The endowment.

The inhabitants of Farkhah financed the renovation of the mosque, and they

made sure to indicate their contribution very clearly in the inscription. (ll. 2-3) The mosque had expenses too, the oil for lighting, the floor mats and the salaries of the *imām* and the *muʾadhdhin*. (Cf. *CIAP*, 1:189; 2:XVI) These, most probably, were covered by income from various endowments (*waqfs*) to which another one was added by the Amīr Bahaʾ ad-Dīn. It consisted of 3 Tyrian dīnārs (*danānīr šūriyyah*) paid annually from the *faṣal* of the village, *the fixed annual amount that the village paid the Amīr* (see below).

Tyrian dīnars

Dīnārs of Tyre (*danānīr šūriyyah*) were apparently used as reliable currency because they always retained their value. On the whole coins of European origin have been sought-after until modern times as the best money because of their purity and exact weight, especially since the Muslim currency fluctuated in weight even from province to province and were sometimes devalued simply by cutting away their edges with purpose of using the metal (gold or silver) for minting more coins. For this reason Qalqashandī emphasizes that “commercial transactions take place in Egyptian or similar dīnārs by weight, and in Frankish dīnārs by tale.” (*al-muʾāmalah bi-ad-danānīr al-miṣriyyah wa-naḥwihā waznan wa-ad-danānīr al-ifrantiyyah* ‘*addan*. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:180) What he means to say is that since the Muslim dīnārs were of different weight, the value of any number of coins could be decided only by weighing, but in the case of the Frankish dīnārs (*ad-danānīr al-ifrantiyyah*) counting or tale was enough. Qalqashandī further explains this issue: (*ibid.*, 3:437) saying:

Currency used in trade by tale (*mā yutaʾāmal bihi muʾāddatan*) are dīnārs imported from the lands of the Franks and from Byzantium. They have a fixed weight (*maʾlūmat al-awzān*). Every such dīnār weighs nineteen and a half Egyptian *qirāt*.

The determination of the gold coin value by weight, rather than by tale, was a common practice in the East, which makes Qalqashandī’s report about the passing of the “Frankish dīnārs” by tale quite important.

Tyre was famous from ancient times for producing currency of exact weight and its *name* became a model for reliable currency (even after such currency ceased to be produced in it); it was used particularly when the exact amount had to be established in contracts and commercial transactions. In many places in the Talmud (the *Mishnah* and the *Gemarah*) we find mention of the Tyrian currency in all cases when accurate amounts of money are discussed, which attests to a documented usage of the term for over 600 years. (BT, *Kiddūshīn*, 11a: “every money mentioned in the Torah, is Tyrian money;” 11b: “every accurate amount of money mentioned in the Torah means Tyrian money.”

B. Qama, 36b, 90b; ‘*Abodah zarah*, 11a; *Bekhorot*, 9b, 49b, 50b.)

The usage of the term “Tyrian dīnār” meant, probably in general, the gold coin of the classical world, but more specifically the *solidus*, the Byzantine gold coin, which the Arabs knew from before Islam, since it is mentioned in the Qur’ān (Q, 3:75), as a unit of a small but well known weight: “Among the people of the Book there are those who, if you entrust them with a talent, will pay it back, but among them are others who if one entrusts them with a dīnār, will not pay it back, except so long as one remains standing over them.” (Trans. Bell. Q, 3:68)

The first Islamic dīnārs struck after the reforms of ‘Abd al-Malik in 77/696 had the same weight as the Byzantine solidus, 4.25gr. Hinz calculation based on glass weights and coins established the weight of 4.231gr. of the classical Muslim gold dīnārs in most of the major provinces of the East around the year AD 780. (Hinz, 1959:2) When Qalqashandī defines the Frankish gold coins (*ifrantiyyah*) as weighing 19½ Egyptian *qirāt*, short of the full weight of 24 *qirāt* for gold dīnār (= *mithqāl*) he wishes to explain that this weight being constant enabling the passing of the Frankish dīnārs (or the Byzantine *besant*) by tale. This was important for carrying out quickly and accurately not only commercial transactions but also all other payments, which demanded accurate sums of money defined in amounts and not by weight, which in many cases could not be accurately determined. Qalqashandī speaks on the whole about his own time—late 14th beginning of the 15th century, however there are many examples from the literature of the time of our inscription in which payment by Tyrian currency was specifically defined. The Muslim administrators must have been acquainted with the “money fief” in the feudal system, especially in the Crusaders period, when the seigneur granted his vassal a fixed income usually from land. This income, involving tale not weight, was typically defined in *besants*, the gold coins which the Muslim administrator in the Mamlūk period called *ifrantiyyah* (*ifranjiyyah*), and his predecessors called by the old name—*šūriyyah*—Frankish or Tyrian dīnār.

In the Crusaders period the Tyrian dīnār was a common name for the Crusaders gold coin retaining the name “*bezant*” or “*besant*.” However, it was not modeled on the Byzantine gold coin bearing this name but on a Fāṭimid coin. Tyre was one of the few places where the Crusaders minted their bezants imitations of the dīnār of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir (495/1101–524/1130). The details concerning the Crusader minting activity which almost throughout the existence of the Latin Kingdom minted gold coins displaying (corrupt) Arabic epigraphy and clear Islamic formulae, is well documented (Metcalf, 1995:43 ff.). The term *dīnār šūrī* “was the generic Arabic term for the cru-

sader Arabic gold coins, but only a small proportion of these imitations bear the mint name *Ṣūr*.” (Bates-Metcalf, 1989:429) In other words whether these coins were minted in Tyre or not, they were called Tyrian *dīnārs*. It must be remembered that Fāṭimid minting of gold coins remained steady in the costal towns of Syria, particularly Tripoli, Tyre and Acre when minting in the inland towns was frequently interrupted. According to a Muslim source, the Crusaders continued to mint at Tyre the imitation of Fāṭimid coins three years after their capture of the city during which period they continued to strike coins bearing the name of al-Āmir. (Ibn Khallikān, 5, 1977:301; Bates-Metcalf *loc. cit.* and note 21)

The fact that Tyrian *dīnārs* were taken as standard currency can be learnt from the following few examples. When Salādīn conquered Jerusalem in 1187 the capitulated Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem could ransom themselves by paying “10 Tyrian *dīnārs* for every man, 5 Tyrian *dīnārs* for every woman, and 1 Tyrian *dīnār* for every child—whether boy or girl.” (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 6:37 (ll. 12-13) quoting Ibn Shaddād’s description of the conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187 in his *an-Nawādir as-Sultāniyyah*). In a report about the release of Raymond III of Tripoli from the Muslim prison in the year 570/1175 Ibn al-Athīr (13th century) writes that after being in the Muslim prison since the year 559/1163 Sa’d ad-Dīn agreed to release him for “150,000 Tyrian *dīnārs* and one thousand (Muslim) captives.” (Ibn al-Athīr, 11:419; *cf.*, Runciman, 2, 1957:395). Ibn Jubayr describing the grand mosque of Damascus, which he visited on April 11, 1184 indicates that the annual income of the mosque reached the sum of “8,000 Tyrian *Dīnārs*, which are equivalent to about 15,000 *mu’miniyyah dīnārs*”—the Muslim *dīnārs* used in the Maghrib in his time. This gold *Dīnār* issued by the Almohad ‘Abd al-Mu’min (524/1130-558/1163)—hence its name—weighed 2.28gr. Ibn Jubayr estimates a relation of 8:15 (or 1:1.875) of the Tyrian *dīnār* to the Mu’min *dīnār*. Knowing exactly the weight of the *Mu’min dīnār* from well-known existing specimens (Wasserstein, 1988-89:103-104), the Tyrian *dīnār* accordingly weighed 4.275gr. Which is in fact the weight of the classical Byzantine gold coin. The difference of 25 centigrams between 4.25gr. and 4.275 is too small to be taken into account, especially since Ibn Jubayr himself takes such small discrepancy into account in his report (*aw nahwihā*). (Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, 1907:267, ll. 6-7)

Another example for the usage of Tyrian *dīnārs* even in an inter-Islamic conflict is related to an agreement between al-Malik az-Zāhir of Aleppo and al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamāt. The former agreed to lift a long siege over the latter’s city in 597/1201 “provided he paid a certain sum of money said

to have amounted to 30,000 Tyrian Dīnārs” (Abū al-Fidā’, *Mukhtaṣar*, 3, AH 1325:99).

M. Gill found an interesting report about the Tyrian dīnār in Medieval Rabbinic sources. In his commentary to the tractate of *Bekhorot* (49b) in the Babylonian Talmud, Rashi (R. Solomon b. Isaac, 1040-1105) remarks about the Tyrian *sela’*: “A Tyrian *sela’* means an Arab (Ismaelite) dīnār. Its value was not clear to me; then in the responsa of the Babylonian *geonim* I found that seven dīnārs were worth ten Arab ones.” “In other words,” says Gil, “the Arab dīnār was considered to be worth 7/10 of the Roman-Byzantine *nomisma*, Rashi further mentions that in Arabic such (Arab) dīnārs are called *migr’ot*, which is probably *mujarra’a*. I did not find this term elsewhere, but the Hebrew meaning of ‘reduced’ (*migr’ot*, MS.) may underlie it.” (Gil, 1988:167).

Rashi, living in France, was not sure what the Tyrian dīnār really was, and he initially thought that it was an “Arab (Ishmaelite)” currency. He received, however, the accurate information from a most reliable source—the *geonim*, the heads of the Talmudic Academies in Iraq (from the end of the 6th century to the beginning of the 11th century); the last of whom (died in 1038) was almost his contemporary. The *geonim* who lived under Islamic rule were deeply involved in the economic, social and even political life of the Jewish communities as well as the Muslim Empire at large. They were a very reliable source on economic matters having to issue frequently authorized responsa on matters involving money as well as other matters concerning the economy of the time. The ratio of the 7/10 between the Tyrian dīnār and the Arab dīnār is interesting because it reflects a weight of about 3.0gr. of the Arab dīnār at the time (compared to 2.28gr. of the Almohad Mu’min’s dīnār in Ibn Jubayr’s report).

It is therefore not surprising that wishing to protect the value of the funds allotted to the mosque in Farkhah, the amount of 3 dīnārs a year was specifically fixed in Tyrian dīnārs. (On this subject see also, *EI* and *EP* s.v. “Dīnār;” Maqrīzī, *Nuqūd*, 1968:60; Nicol, 1988-89: 61-67).

Faṣal

L. 8. *faṣal al-qaryah*. (Baramkī: *faḍl*. Sukenik, Ben Horin: *faṣl*)

The word *faṣal* is very clearly vowelled in the inscription itself with a *fathah* over the *ṣād*. It is evident that the word is a term that signifies a certain status of the village and its land either completely or partially. It is also clear that the Amīr Bahā’ ad-Dīn derived income from this *faṣal*. The wording: “*wa-awqafa ‘alayhi al-amīr... min faṣal al-qarayh al-madhkūrah...—The Amīr has endowed for it (the mosque) from the faṣal of the aforementioned village...*”

suggests that the word *faṣal* was used here in a sense of both the status of the land and the income incurred from it.

The term *faṣal* intrigued the students of the Crusades especially those who dealt with the feudal system of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the land tenure rules in it. It has been observed that a special form of vassalage developed, different from that which existed in Feudal Europe, in a sense that here, in the Latin Kingdom there was no intermediary class between the lower knights and the seniors simply because the country was too small. The large estates, which the early conquerors received, became in time very rare. The higher seigneurial class absorbed the villages and large estates and in the subsequent generations the knights of the lower class received small fiefs or even money payments—some kind of “money feudum” or “*Fief de besant*.” (Prawer, 1, 1984:371 and n.13; cf. *CIAP*, 1:179) In case of land fief, a small village could have been given to one or more knights. In such case it seems, as we shall soon see, the status of the estate was defined by the term that contained in it the word *vassal*.

At this point we have to turn to the very well known passage of Nuwayrī speaking about the status of “certain areas” in Syria where the remnants of the customs of the Franks were still in force in his time. Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad an-Nuwayrī who died in 733/1333 was a professional bureaucrat in the Mamlūk service in Syria and was well acquainted with the land categories, ownership rules and regulations in the country, taxation laws and various mechanisms of extortion. He wrote a multi volume work (in 30 (33 printed) volumes cf., Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:197 no. 506; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 9, 1996:417) summarizing the knowledge of his time in the various branches of science, language and history—an encyclopedic manual for the intellectual scribe or secretary. (“al-Nuwayrī” in *EI* and *EF*²; Ziriklī, 1, 1986:165)

The passage relating to the term *faṣal* (Nuwayrī, 8, 1931:260-261) runs as follows:

وفي بعض الأعمال الشامية نواح مفصولة ومضمّنة على أربابها بشيء معلوم يؤخذ منهم عند إدراك المغلّ من غير توكيل ولا مقاسمة، وهي نظير المتأجرات بالديار المصرية؛ ولفظ الفصل بالشام كله كلمة فرنجية، واستمر استعمالها في البلاد الساحلية التي ارتجعت من أيدي الفرنج جريا على عادتهم.

In some of the districts of Syria there are areas that are “*mafsūlah*” and leased out to their holders/occupants against a fixed sum, which is taken from them when the crop is collected without (the employment of) an inspector or crop-sharing. This (method of land tenure) is similar to the “*mutaʿjjarāt*” (or “rented out” lands) in Egypt. Through-

out Syria the term *faṣal* is a Frankish word that continued to be used in the coastal areas, which had been repossessed from the hands of the Franks, in accordance with their custom.

This passage was discussed by scholars who studied the “feudal” practice in Islam (Cahen, 1975:238; Prawer, 1980:195; Northrup, 1998:269, 276; Frenkel, 1999:263-264). The passage is very clear and straightforward. Nuwayrī was well acquainted with the hierarchy of the Mamlūk socio-military system, as well as with the mechanisms by which this system derived income, preserved loyalties and paid for them. He was part of the administration that dealt directly with the various kinds of taxation; this makes him a first hand authority on land tenure, land status and land taxation. His usage of terms and terminologies connected with his profession, throughout his work, gives the impression of accuracy and confidence. It is therefore very difficult to question the testimony contained in this passage in which Nuwayrī says that a Frankish term characterizing a special type of land tenure and land taxation continued to be used under the Mamlūks “according to their (the Franks’) custom (‘*ādah*).” The term, which signifies this system or the “custom,” is “*faṣal*.” Nuwayrī makes sure to indicate that this term (*lafẓ*), which was used all over the province of ash-Shām, was a “Frankish word” (*kalimah faranjiyyah*). Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (1867-1934), who initiated the publication of Nuwayrī’s magnum opus within his larger project of the Revival of the Arabic Book, and edited its first volumes, was the first to identify the word *faṣal* as the Arabic form, or pronunciation of the French *vassal*. After explaining that originally the term described a subordinate person holding land by the obligation to render service (military or its equivalent) to his superior, he explains that “the people of Syria used it as a verbal noun depicting subordination (*wa-arādū bihi al-ma’nā al-maṣdarī ayy at-taba’iyyah*); then, because of constraints of their Arabic pronunciation, they corrupted it into *faṣal*, as it is written here, from which they derived the term ‘*maṣṣūlah*.’ ” (Nuwayrī, *vol. cit.*, 261, n.1) The corruption in pronunciation of the Latin letter “s” or the Greek *sigma* to *ṣād* is common (e.g. *qayṣar*, *ṣanjīl*, *ṣābūn*, *ṣandal*, *qunṣul* etc.) but Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, who was an accomplished linguist, made sure to confirm the obvious. However the term “*maṣṣūlah*,” defining the status of the land given to the person in a status of a *faṣal*, has already all the features of pure Arabic; it is the passive participle of the root *f-ṣ-l* which not surprisingly, could easily be understood to form the basis of (the foreign) *faṣal* as well. Nuwayrī, therefore, makes a point to emphasize that the origin of the word is Frankish and that it carried with it a Frankish custom.

Had the present inscription not been found, scholars questioning Nuwayrī’s

credibility arguing that on this issue his testimony is without parallel, could have had a case. However, information supplied by an inscription is, on the whole, as solid as the material on which it had been incised, especially when the information is offered in passing. Our inscription speaks about *faṣal* in a village that until 1187, a mere 27 years before its incision, was under Frankish rule. Since Nuwayrī describes a state of affairs in Syria, where he himself was employed at the beginning of the 14th century (*ET*² 8:156-160), it is clear that we have here a well-entrenched institution, which had been already in practice for at least a century, since the early Ayyūbid rule. I would add that it must have served its purpose very well if it endured for such a long period.

Before analyzing Nuwayrī's passage, let us go back to the inscription. It says that high rank officer, an Amīr, a first generation Muslim of Turkish origin, who must have been in the service of an Ayyūbid superior (Saladin, or al-Malik al-ʿĀdil?), endowed annually the rather modest amount of three dīnārs for the mosque of the village. This sum came from the money which the village paid him. This payment is defined in the inscription as the "the *faṣal* of the aforementioned village." It is clear that the Amīr received this income from the village in return for some service which he had to render to his Ayyūbid superior, but the payments from the village were clearly defined as *faṣal*, namely a fixed sum not connected with the size of the crops and, one may add, with no need for supervising and registering the size of the cultivated land, the olive groves or the harvest. Because it was a fixed payment, the Amīr could define his endowment in an exact sum as well, defined in the most accurate currency of the time: "Tyrian dīnārs." Isn't this what Nuwayrī tells us?

There are areas in some of the Syrian districts, he says, which are administered according to the *faṣal* custom that continued from the time of the Frankish rule. According to this system the land is leased out to its occupants or holders, against a determined payment (*muḍammanah ʿalā arbābihā bishayʾ maʿlūm*), which they have to pay at the harvest time. This system of payment is neither crop-sharing (*muqāsamah*), which means that it is not connected with the size of the produce (be it large or small) and does not need the appointment of an inspector (*tawkīl*) to supervise the size of the cultivated land and the crops to prevent cheating.

In the passage before Nuwayrī explains exactly what is the function of the *wakīl*, the inspector, saying that he closely supervised the process of harvesting (especially of cotton, rice, almonds, olives, pistachio, walnuts and the like) until the produce reached its gathering places (*ilā an yaṣīr fī bayādirihī*) where its proper sharing out or division (*maqāsamah*) could take place, removing

the percentage of the crop as tax (*ḍanībāh*) or payment to whom it was due. (Nuwayrī, *vol. cit.*, 260) This system of crop-sharing, which meant payments made in kind, is clearly distinguished from the *faṣāl* custom, to which Nuwayrī brings a parallel from Egypt where a similar arrangement called *muta' ajjarāt* existed. The term suggests leasing or renting out land against fixed payment, exactly as any other property (houses, shops) was leased or rented out. From my own personal experience I can vouch that both systems of crop sharing, and of renting cultivable land against fixed payment have survived in the country until the present.

The *faṣāl* custom, which, as we just learnt, existed in Muslim Syria at the time of the Ayyūbids, continued to be used, in accordance with the Crusade feudal methods, in parts of all the lands that were re-conquered from the Franks. Under the Ayyūbids the custom was followed in the part of the country's interior, the first to come under Ayyūbid rule after Ḥiṭṭīn. When the Mamlūks finally occupied the coastal areas, the *faṣāl* was used also there as Nuwayrī confirms, speaking about his own time, some twenty years after the conquest of Acre, which marked the end of the Frankish presence in Syria. It should not be too far-fetched to conclude, based on Nuwayrī's information and the inscription, that the *faṣāl* method of vassalage was similar to a variant of the already mentioned "money fief" custom ("*fief de besant*") of the Crusaders. (Bloch, 1, 1962:174; Prawer, 1, 1984:371-372) The "money fiefs" (or Lat. *feodum de bursa*, Fr. *fief de bourse*, *fief de chambre*, Ger. *Kammerlehen*) existed in the Feudal systems in Europe also but was not very common. The first example for this kind of fief dates 1087 and comes from Flandria, but the most extensive use of it was made by the English monarchy since the time of Henry I (1068-1135); in France the first to make money grant was Louis VII in 1155/56. (Bloch, 1, 1962:174; Ganshof, 1961:114-115) The difference between the *faṣāl* mentioned in this case and the "money fief" is that in the latter case the "fief" involved only money, and was not connected with any land property whatever. In this case, both the inscription and Nuwayrī's report speak about the income drawn from land property, which was granted to the amīr-vassal, and he *rented it out* to the its actual holders for a fixed payment that did not take into consideration the income of the farmers from this land.

This arrangement that Nuwayrī compares to the *muta' ajjarāt* in Egypt is not similar to the extraordinary tax which the general council of the Latin Kingdom imposed early in 1185. In that case, described in detail by William of Tyre, the lords of each village had to pay one bezant for each hearth in

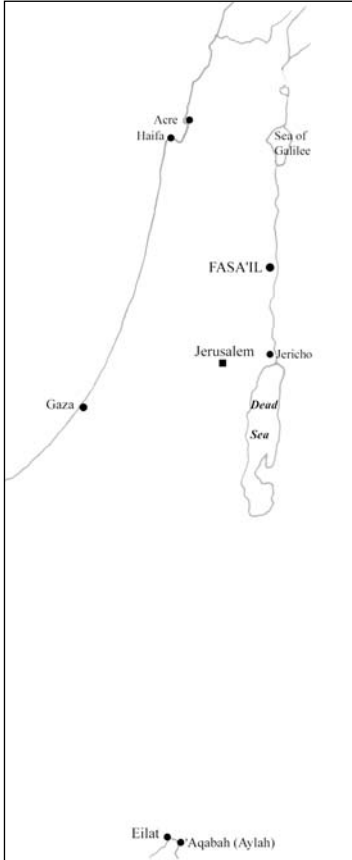
their possession and then collect this sum from their peasants. (Kedar, 1974: 339)

The difference between the *faṣal* and the procedure described by this report is that the decree of 1185 spoke about actual tax that was imposed on everybody: churches, monasteries, barons, vassals and mercenaries. The key of one hearth one bezant was probably an easy way of deciding the amount of money due from owners of *casalia*, but it was a tax which the lords had first to pay and then to reimburse themselves extracting it from the peasants *in addition* to their usual income from the produce of the land. It is also very possible that the edict of 1185 was a one-time tax imposed to meet emergency circumstances. In the case of our *faṣal* the situation described is totally different. Here the money due to the lord was connected neither with the number of households nor with the size of the produce. It was a known sum of money paid by the cultivators for renting the land as one pays rent for any other property. The income which the lord usually received from his land in a form of a percentage of the produce (*muqāsamah*) was transformed in the *faṣal* system into a fixed rental.

L.10: *li'istiqbāl shawwāl*. The word *istiqbāl* denotes the full moon of every month just as *hilāl* (crescent) means the first of the month. The word means the opposition of two stars, and in this case the moon on the 15th of the lunar month when it is in direct opposition to the sun.

FAṢĀ'IL

Is. Gr. 192 161 (N. Is. Gr. 242 761)



Ruins of an ancient town called locally, *Khirbat Tell al-Faṣāyel*. Two modern settlements, one Arab, al-Faṣayel (Faṣā'il), and one Jewish *Faṣāel*, retained the name of the ancient town Fasaelis (Φασαηλῖς). King Herod built it to the north of Jericho and named it after his brother Fasael (Φασαηλ Heb. פֶּצְאֵל). The King developed the area around the town by conveying to it, by an elaborate system of canals, the water of the springs on its west that normally followed to the Jordan along the valley known as wādī al-Faṣā'il.

The abundant water turned the whole area around Fasaelis into a large garden, famous for its special type of dates, the caryotae, which Pliny praised in particular, and great variety of other fruits. (*Hist. Nat.* XIII, 4, 44; Guérin, *Samarie*, 1, 1879:229-30). The water was also used for turning watermills, the remnants of which can still be seen in the area. In his will Herod left the town to his sister Salome (Σαλώμη, Heb. שלומית), and she left it in her will to Julia (Livia) the wife of Augustus. She died around the year 10 CE. (Josephus, *Ant.* XVI, 8, 1; 11, 5; XVIII, 2, 2; *Bj*, I, 21, 9; II, 9,1).

After Livia's death on 29 CE Fasaelis was included in the Emperors domains together with other towns, which had belonged to Salome. (Avi-Yonah, 1963: 58-59, 65; Guérin, *vol. cit.*, :230-232)

When Guérin visited the place in the middle of 1870, he found ruins. "No trace was left of the famous date groves of Fasaelis that had covered, no doubt, the fertile plain to the east of wādī Faṣā'il. The gardens of the town, they also, had long passed from the world." (Guérin, *vol. cit.*, 1874:228f) The town Fasaelis, that had been a centre of industry as well as agriculture, was completely wiped out, and only scattered building stones at the opening of the valley, where it had been once situated, are far echoes to its existence.

In the 13th and 14th centuries Fasaelis is mentioned as a small village, first by the monk Brocardus (Smith, 1968:233 and n. 1) who calls it Phesech, and later by Marino Sanuto (Sanudo)) who corrects the name from Phesech to Fasaelis. (Guérin, *vol. cit.*, 232) There is no mention of the place anywhere in the Arabic literature as far as I could check. For this reason the inscription discussed below is a unique testimony for the existence of a settlement of importance in the area in the 9th century.

In 1982, the IAA carried out excavations in the ancient site under the direction of Y. Porat. Clearing the ruins of a water mill in locus 11 the diggers found in the ruins a slab of stone with an inscription. It was catalogued under the number L11 B1013.

1

Benediction

270/884-282/896

A slab of limestone 0.80x0.79m. discovered in the ruins of a water mill at the site of Fasaelis on December 1982. (Locus 11, Basket 1013) 6 lines; simple angular script, defaced in a few places, but on the whole readable. Incised, no points, no vowels, and no decorations. (Fig. 59)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ بَرَكَةٌ (٢) مِنْ اللَّهِ وَ[ف]ـ[لا] [ح؟ لَأ] ي (٣) الْجَيْشِ خَمَارُوبِ (٤) بِنِ أَحْمَدِ [مولى] أ
(٥) مِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أ (٦) طَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَهُ

In the name of Allah. Blessing from Allah and success (?) to Abū al-Jaysh Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful. May Allah extend his life.

L.2: A few letters in this line are destroyed. From their traces I guess the missing word could well be, as in many similar inscriptions from this period, *wa-nī mah* (see below), though I do not rule out other possibilities, such as *wa-falāh* which I chose because I think I can see the traces of a *lāmalif*.

L.2-3: The patronymic Abū al-Jaysh was the true patronymic of Khumārawayh, (e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4, 1966:158) whose son and heir was Jaysh Abū al-ʿAsākir, who ruled after his father for a few months in 282/896. Khumārawayh's father was Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, a fact which also appears in the inscription. In addition, Khumārawayh (or his father Aḥmad) is defined as the "client of the Commander of the Faithful" (*mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* ll. 4-5) since, officially at least, he was nominated to his position by the Caliph, and had to pay the central treasury in Baghdād a small tribute. On the other hand, the Ṭūlūnids were entitled to the two most important symbols of authority:

minting coins (*sikkah*) and having their names mentioned in the Friday sermon (*khutbah*). (*El, EI² s.v.* "Khumārawaih")

An inscription of this kind, in spite of the fact that it represents provincial script, was not engraved only to laud Khumārawayh. It commemorated, no doubt, some building project; it could well have been fixed on the mill, in the ruins of which it was discovered.

The style of the inscription could be misleading. The formula "*barakah li*—blessing to..." is very common. It frequently appears on artifacts that were manufactured for a special owner, in which case the owner's name appears in it, or for the market, and then the wording is the general: "*barakah li-ṣāhibihi*—blessing to its owner." The same, or similar formulae appear also on various kinds of building projects as for instance on the wall at the entrance to the huge cistern in the city of Ramlah built in 172/789 by the amīr Dinar, defined in the inscription also as the *mawlā* of caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (170/786-193/809). (Van Berchem, 1978:352-355; *RCEA*, 5:189—communication L.A. Mayer to *RCEA*, 1:41-42 no. 58; Creswell, 1958:228; Sharon, 1997:103) There are many examples for these types of formulae from both the East and the West. (*RCEA*, 5:189, no. 86*bis*, a decree from Ashmūnain from the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd; *ibid.*, 1:165 No. 208A, on a piece of silk from Egypt, dedicated to al-Ma'mūn (198/813-218/833); *ibid.*, 3:23 No. 839, on piece of linen, from Egypt dedicated to al-Muktafī in 290/903; *ibid.*, 3:93 No. 961, from Jerusalem dedicated in the name of al-Muqtadir in the year 301/913-914; and No. 962 from about the same year; also *ibid.*, 3:198 No. 987, the same caliph from Jerusalem, in the year 305/917; *CIA, Jerusalem, "Haram,"* 1, Nos. 144, 219). For an example of a long *barakah* see e.g. *RCEA*, 4:173 No. 1542 where the text reads:

بركة كاملة ونعمة شاملة وسعادة متواصلة لصاحبه

Complete blessing and comprehensive prosperity and perpetual happiness to its owner.

And *ibid.*, 5:93 No. 1818 from Granada, on a building dedicated to al-Ḥakam II, al-Mustanṣir (350/961-366/976) which reads:

(١) بركة كاملة ونعمة شاملة ورفعة (٢) متصلة وعزة معظمة وعافية مستـ (٣) طيلة
وكرامة منعمة و... (٤) ... ونعمة وبقاء دائم لـ [ـلـ] خليفة الإمام (٥) م عبد الله الحكيم
المسـ [ـتنصر بالله] (٦) أمير المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه مما امر بعمـ (٧) له فتاه وخاجبه جعفر
(٨) سنة ستين وثلاث مائة

Complete blessing and comprehensive prosperity, and perpetual reverence, and glorified power, and prolonged vitality, and bountiful magnanimity... and prosperity and long life to the Caliph the *imām* the servant of Allah al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir bi-Allāh Commander of the Faithful. May Allah prolong his life. Has ordered the making of this his (the Caliph's) slave and chamberlain Ja'far in the year 360 (=970-971).

(Publication: Amador de los Rios, *Memoria*, 1883: 194, Levi-Provençal, 1932(1): No. 215.

I brought the few examples above, covering a period that extends to the 4th/10th century, only to illustrate the various usages of the formula beginning with *barakah* on both mobile and immobile objects. The usage of the same formula in the present inscription from Faṣā'il represents, therefore, a building project initiated or ordered by Khumārawayh.

Attaining power, at the age of twenty, after the death of his father Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, Khumārawayh very quickly established himself as the ruler of Egypt, Syria and a great part of Mesopotamia. This he could do after the defeat which his army inflicted on the royal forces of the caliph in a battle near Nahr Abī Fuṭrus on 16 Shawwāl 271/6th April 885 (that came to be known as the "Battle of the Water Mills"—*waq'at at-ṭawāḥīn*), and on a few less dangerous rebels in Syria. He was confirmed by al-Muwaffaq, the all-powerful brother of the reigning caliph al-Mu'tamid (256/870-279/892) as the governor of the provinces, which he already held, for 30 years. (Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 1982:414-415; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1:321; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 3:50-51; *EI*² s.v. "Nahr Abī Fuṭrus") He further strengthened his position when at the end of 281/beginning of 895, his daughter Qaṭr an-Nadā was married to the new caliph al-Mu'taḍid (279/892-289/902). (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 3:53)

Khumārawayh was famous for his extravagance, which was demonstrated in tremendous expenditure on his army (especially his own well-trained special units, and the Sudanese battalion), and on showing-off events, at which he made a point of demonstrating his wealth, power, personal strength and good looks. (*Ibid.*, 3:59-60) He also spent large amounts of money on various opulent building projects, and unusually sophisticated gardens such as the one in Cairo planted with exotic plants (some of which were brought from as far as Khurāsān), where the trunks of the date palms were covered with gold-plated sheets of copper, leaving enough space between the sheets and the trunk for lead pipes with flowing water to run along the palm and pour into large pools, and thereafter through conducting canals to water other parts of the garden. (*Ibid.*, 3:53-54. More on his building projects see *ibid.*, 3: 55-59; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 314ff.)

Although Egypt was his main base and the major source for his wealth, he had great interest in Syria, which, like his father, he guarded very closely,

especially with the help of the powerful navy built by Aḥmād b. Ṭūlūn precisely for this purpose.

The inscription from Faṣā'il throws a glimpse additional light on his policy. For here we have evidence of his interest in a rather remote locality, in the Jordan valley, which he probably thought to develop. It is not difficult to see that Khumārawayh could have well been attracted to the once paradise-like area of Herodian Fasaelis with its abundance of water, and instigated a project of gardens and watermills there. It is possible that Faṣā'il still retained some of its old-days prosperity in his time, though beside this inscription we still have nothing else to show.

However, the excavations carried out in the site hitherto are very preliminary, and naturally the archeologists are interested in the ancient, Herodian and late Roman period. Yet as we know from the Arabic inscriptions in Ram-lah, for instance, the Ṭūlūnid and Ikhshīd periods, in spite of the fact that altogether they extended over only seventy years (Ṭūlūnids: 254/868-292/905; Ikhshīds: 323/935-358/969), left behind clear signs of their presence.

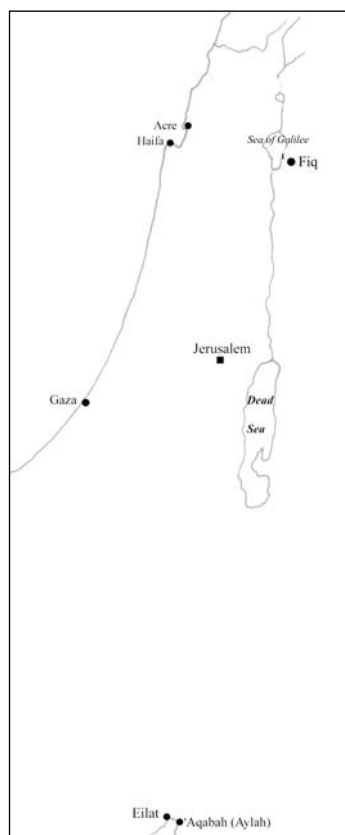
Granting the rather irresponsible management of his finances, Khumārawayh was nevertheless a very able ruler and good statesmen. By way of diplomacy rather than by sword he brought long periods of peace to his domains. He did not live long enough to bring his talents to maturity. In 282/896, at the age of 32 he fell victim to a plot in which twenty of his personal eunuchs were involved. While in Damascus on a visit of his domains in Syria and enjoying a new palace which he had just built for himself, he received the news that each one of his favourite concubines in his private abode in Egypt "adopted one of the eunuchs of that abode as her husband." One of the eunuchs, in order to escape punishment managed with some twenty others to slay their master in his sleep and flee. Ṭughj b. Juff, Khumārawayh's general (the Ikhshīd), soon caught all of the insurgents and crucified them. Mas'ūdī, *loc. cit.*; Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1:322; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 3:64 and 3:49-87; Ibn al-Athīr, 7:429-32, 474-75; Ayalon, 1999:207-217)

The Ṭūlūnid house dwindled very rapidly. The rule of Khumārawayh's son Jaysh, whose name appears in our inscription, extended for less than a year. His brother Hārūn ruled after him for more than eight years, and when he was assassinated, the Ṭūlūnid dynasty came to an end (ignoring the 12 day rule of Shaybān b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn). The central government authority was re-established in Egypt and Syria for the coming 30 years. (Ṭabarī, 3:2153, 2186; Maqrīzī, *loc. cit.*)

FĪQ—AFĪQ

Is. Gr. 216 242 (N. Is. Gr. 266 742)

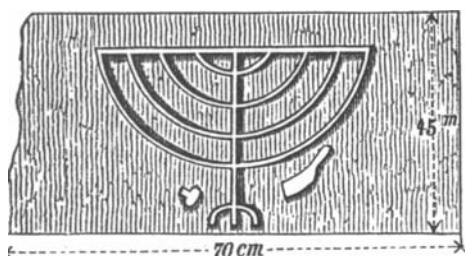
(See *CIAP* I *q.v.* 'Aqabat Fīq)



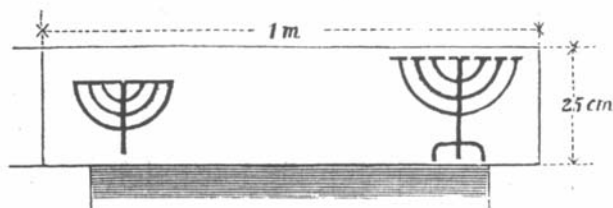
An ancient site in the southern Golan region identified with Apheq of 1Kings, 20:26-30; 2Kings, 13:17. (Abel, 2, 1938:246-247)

Gottlieb Schumacher, the first Western scholar to pursue a systematic study of the Golan in the 80's of the nineteenth century reported about many archeological finds in Fīq and other places in the region. In archeological surveys and excavations undertaken by the IAA throughout the Golan in the late 60s and 70s of the 20th century, many more similar finds have been discovered and recorded. They confirm the antiquity of Fīq and many other places in this region. (*Cf.* *CIAP*, 2, *s.v.* "Bāniyās")

Among the many elements of ancient buildings used in the modern houses in Fīq there is a lintel, from the Roman period, decorated with a seven-branch candlestick (*menorah*) in bas-relief flanked by an *ethrog*(?) on the left and a *shofar* (curved horn) on the right. Schumacher was the first to describe this lintel as well as similar decorative architectural remains, which he discovered in Fīq



Relieforament an einem Thürsturz
in el-Aḥmēdiye.

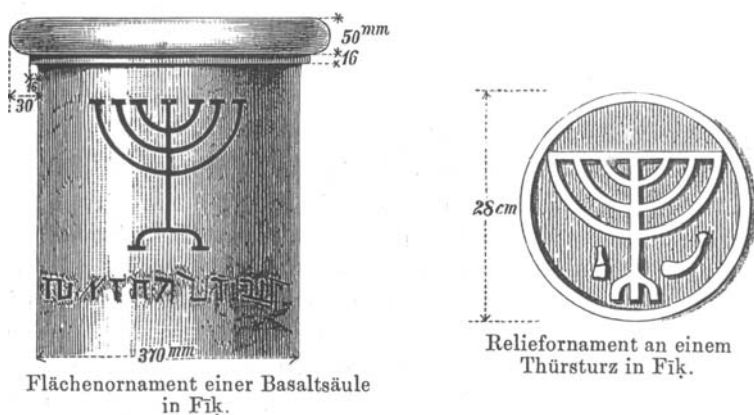


Flächenornament an einem Thürsturz in
el-Aḥmēdiye.

Pl. 58. Decorated lintels from Aḥmadiyyah in the Golan as recorded by Schumacher (Source: Schumacher, 1885:333)

itself and in various locations in the Golan (Pl. 58). (Schumacher 1888: 141, 183; *idem.* in *ZDPV*, 8, 1885:333)

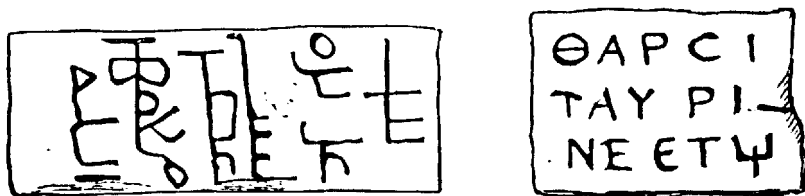
The lintel with this particular decoration from Fīq points to the existence of a Synagogue in the place in the early Roman period. This proposition is supported by the finding (also by Schumacher) of a part of a basalt column, decorated with a similar *menorah* and with an Aramaic inscription (Pl. 59) reading: אנה יהודה חזאנה—*anā Yehūda ḥazzāna* (I Judah the Synagogue superintendent). The column was kept in the courtyard of the village mosque (which, Guérin believed, stood on the place of an ancient church, Guérin, *Galilée*, 1, 1880:314). In 1965 it was transferred to the military cemetery in Qunaytirah (Quneitrah) where it was re-discovered in 1967.



Pl. 59. Schumacher's recording of a Basalt column, and decoration of a lintel from Fīq (Source: Schumacher, 1885:333)

In the courtyard of the village Shaykh's house Schumacher found "beside remains of columns... a fragment of a defaced Arabic inscription in the year 741 of the Hegira. I took an impression of this inscription"—he writes in a note—"but unfortunately it was destroyed by an involuntary bath in crossing the Jordan. I hope to restore it later." We shall come back to this inscription from which Schumacher seems to have failed to prepare another "*Abklatsch.*" Schumacher mentions this inscription while describing the Greek inscription he came across in the neighbourhood of the "*manzil*" of Shaykh Diyāb, (the village-head) together with a fragment of an Arabic inscription, which he found lying in the street, and another Greek inscription "over the door of a dwelling house." (Schumacher, 1888:140-141, Fig. 44) All these inscriptions he managed to copy, although there is very little that can be gleaned from

the copied Arabic one. (Pl. 60) In the more recent survey more than 30 Greek inscriptions were discovered. (Ilan, 1976:260)



Pl. 60. Greek and Arabic inscriptions from Fīq Schumacher's copies
(Source: Schumacher, 1888:140, figs. 42, 43)

Schumacher described Fīq at the later part of the 19th century as a “large village,” and in the past as a market place and important post between the Hawrān and the Mediterranean, indicating that it was identified as the site of ancient Apeha (Schumacher, 1888:143-144). In the time of his visit (1882-3), it was in a poor state. Out of its 160 houses built of stone in an acceptable condition only 90 were inhabited by some 400 souls (*ibid.*, 136. Fig. 39 on p.137 shows the deserted part of the village). Even the inhabited houses were in quick process of deterioration.

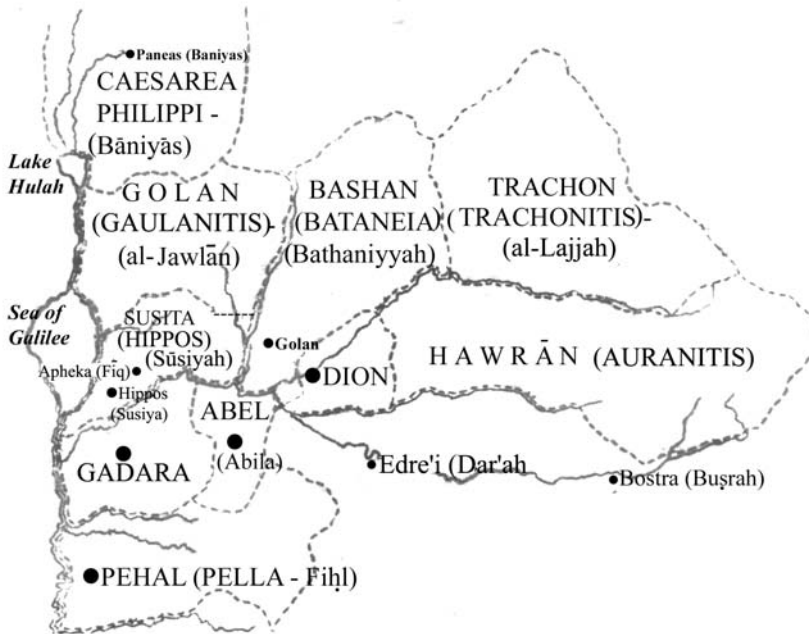
Also Guérin, who visited the place a few years before Schumacher, on 6 July 1875, found a “half ruined village.” The signs of its ancient glory could be seen in the building material used in the houses, which came from antique buildings. (Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 1880:314-315) When Schumacher asked for the reasons of the continued desertion of the village, he was told that the inhabitants preferred to belong to the administrative district of Quneitrah, rather than to that of Tiberias.

Otherwise, there was no reason why Fīq should not enjoy its old time centrality and prosperity, availing itself of its favourable natural conditions. It was situated on the edge of a fertile plateau and benefitted from the abundance of water of its spring—‘Ayn Fīq (Figs. P39; P39a. Schumacher, 1888: 137). This in addition to the fact that it has been a very important station on the main route between Damascus and Bethshean (Baysān), and on a larger scale, on one of the major branches of the Sea Route between Egypt and Mesopotamia, via Damascus. (Aharoni, 1988:41) Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* described it as a “large village” (Κώμη μεγάλη) of Apeha,” near the town of Hippos (Sūsītā and Sūsiyah. Figs. P40; P40a. Pl. 61. Abel, 2, 1938:246-247 and the bibliography there; Yāqūt (Dār Šādir) 3:283—“Sūsiyah subdistrict (*kūrah*)

in the province of Urdunn"). Its position on one of the main routes of the Middle East helped it to develop as a local market.

However, alternative routes to Damascus developed in the middle ages, particularly the one which crossed the Jordan river between the Sea of Galilee and Lake Hūlah (*Buḥayrat Qadas*), over Jisr Ya'qūb (e.g. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1(1), 1956: 546, 585, popular name: Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb—"the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters"), and the other that crossed it in Jisr al-Majāmi' near the meeting of the Yarmūk with the Jordan (hence the name). As a result, the route through 'Aqabat Fīq did not keep the significance which it had enjoyed during the early Islamic period.

The village of Fīq, therefore, in spite of its excellent location, good soil and abundance of water, remained a rather small village and did not even enjoy the presence of the Khān that was built far from it. In modern times the village was an administrative and Military (Syrian) centre and grew in size, but was far less important as a road station, since the train between Haifa and Damascus and one main road passed through Jisr al-Majāmi', and the other main road crossed over Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb further north.



Pl. 61. The Golan and its environs in the Roman period (after Avi-Yonah)

In ancient times the name Golan was reserved for a town (Pl. 61). In Deut. 4: 43 "Golan in Bashān" is mentioned as a town, "that a slayer might flee thither.

(4:42)” And in Josh. 20:8 and 21:27 where the town is again referred to as “Golan in Bashan with her suburbs to be a city of refuge for the slayer.”

The name Bashan referred to a very large territory that extended from the slopes of the Hermon Mountain (*Jabal ash-Shaykh*) in the north down to the Yarmuk gorge (*Sharī‘at al-Manāḍīrah*) in the south, and stretched eastwards to beyond Jabal ad-Darūz. It is a plateau spotted with low hills about 30,000 sq. km. covered with basalt rocks, boulders and stones of various sizes that has almost exclusively been used for building and other usages in the whole region. (Fig. P41) This was also the source for basalt employed in the manufacturing of flour mills and oil presses as well as other appliances requiring hard stone. (Figs. P42; P43; P43a)

This is the largest lava area in the world. The lava cover is on the average 300-400m. thick. It was created by long periods of geologically young volcanic activity, which accompanied the tectonic movement that caused the creation of the great rift of the Jordan valley, during the Tertiary period, especially the Pliocene and the Pleistocene. In a narrow sense only the eastern part of this large region is what is usually called in Hebrew *Bashān*, in Greek Bataneia (Βατάνεια). This ancient name is behind the Arabic name Bathaniyyah mentioned by Muqaddasī (*BGA*, 3, 1906:154).

Basically, when we speak about the region we have in mind its natural, geographical and topographical features. For this reason Schumacher referred to the Golan as a geographical unit: the plateau to the east of the Sea of Galilee and the Lake Hūlah bordered on south by the Yarmūk (*al-Manāḍīrah*) and the Hermon (*Jabal ash-Shaykh*) on the north. (Schumacher, 1888: 9-11) Thus one is justified to speak about the southern and northern Golan respectively.

The political and administrative names, which throughout history were used for it, changed in accordance with the political and administrative vicissitudes. But on the whole, one encounters the same, or similar names to those used to characterize the main divisions of the landscape. The Hawrān (Αυρανίτις) or Jabal al-Hawrān (modern Hūrān (colloq. Ḥorān) and Jabal ad-Durūz) in the east; above it to the north the Trachonitis (Τραχωνίτις) or the *Lajjah* (“*lejjah*” the lava area); to the west, in the middle, the plain of Bashān proper, and further west the plateau of the Golan which in the Roman times was divided into three parts, in the north the area of Paneas (Bāniyās *q.v.*) called after its main town, in the south Sūsīta or Hippos, also called after its main town, and in the middle, occupying the main part of the territory overlooking the Jordan valley between Lake Hūlah and the sea of Galilee, was the Golan (see map Pl. 61). This is the division known from the Roman and Byzantine period. It is also the division that is at the basis of Muqaddasī’s

description of the territory defined as the District of Damascus, in his days (10th century). He also referred, no doubt, to administrative sub-districts that corresponded to the natural division. In addition to the Ghūṭah, which is the fertile area around Damascus, he mentions to the south and west the following districts: al-Ḥawrān, al-Bathaniyyah, al-Jawlān, al-Biqāʿ and al-Ḥūlah. The last two are the western-most lower lands in the valleys of the Orontes and the upper Jordan with the Ḥūlah Lake as its main feature. The Ḥawrān, the Bathaniyyah and the Jawlān are exactly the same as the three main divisions of the landscape that were mentioned above. (Muqaddasī, *loc.cit.*)

The western region, which is called by the general name of Golan, in Arabic Jawlān, was since ancient times divided between a few administrative sub-districts; yet the name Golan was always saved for the central one of these divisions. In the Mishnah (*Sotah*, 9:15) the name is Gablān similar to the Aramaeic Gawlāna, Guwlana, Gublānā. (Jastrow, 1950 (1903) 1:207,217) The usual Greek name is Gaulanitis (Γαυλανίτις).

During the Roman and Byzantine periods the large area to the north of the Yarmuk was divided into several administrative regions, a few of them were named following the older appellations such as the Hawrān, Trachonitis, Golan, and some following the name of a central town such as Pellah, Gedarah, Dion, Susita-Hippos and Paneas. The village of Apheka—Fīq fell in the district of Susita-Hippos. (see map Pl. 61 and Avi-Yona, 1963:150-160) After A.D. 93 Paneas (Bāniyās) was eventually included in Phoenicia Prima; after A.D. 106, Sūsīta-Hippos (Fig. P40) was included in Palaestina Secunda (following a transitional period in which it belonged to Syria-Palaestina); and after A.D. 218 the Golan (Gaulanitis) also belonged to Palaestina Secunda. (Elad, 1999:65)

When the Muslims took over from the Byzantines in the 7th century, they did not introduce any changes in the Byzantine administrative system. It was only in 696 that ʿAbd al-Malik inaugurated his major administrative reforms. The language of the administration was officially changed from Greek to Arabic, the monetary system was Islamized and Arabized, and the long dependence of the Islamic state on Byzantine (Christian) coinage ended. The great majority of the inscriptions from his time included very prominently Islamic formulae, which carried the message that Islam is the ruling, victorious and true religion (*dīn al-ḥaqq*). These Muslim slogans (mainly Qurʾānic) represent the complete breakaway from the former Christian Imperial order. Moreover, ʿAbd al-Malik made sure to emphasize through the Qurʾānic quotations which he chose to use on his coins and in inscriptions commemorating state projects not only the superiority of Islam, but in many cases also the perfect

Islamic monotheism refuting of the main tenants of the Christian religion. (Cf. *CIAP*, 1, s.v. “Aqabat Fiq.”)

The most pronounced example of this policy is the inscription at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the great part of which is dedicated to the refutation of the Trinity and the Sonship. (Grabar, 1959:53-57; Sharon, 1988: 229; *idem.*, 1992:66) If there was any breakaway from the Byzantine administrative system in such an early date then it could only be envisaged as part of these reforms. However, since there are no sources for the history of the territories that came under the Islamic rule before the 9th century, it would be futile to indulge in guesses. What is important for our discussion is the fact that the inscriptions from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik relating to Fīq show that the caliph paid special attention to the route that passed through this village. He ordered the cutting of a better road through the mountain pass (‘*aqabah*) which lead to it and thereafter to Damascus and beyond (*CIAP*, *loc. cit.*), and continued the Roman-Byzantine custom of placing along the major routes leading from Damascus to Jerusalem (at least) milestones displaying his Islamic policy, his administrative ability and his concern for the easy flow of news from the periphery to the capital. (see s.v. “Dayr al Qalt” in this volume, and *CIAP*, 1, s.v. “Abū Ghūsh;” Elad, 1999:48-50 for a summary of the Arabic sources).

In the Arabic sources from the early as well as from the late Middle ages Fīq is always mentioned as a station on the route to Damascus. (Le Strange, *loc. cit.*; Sharon, 1966(1):367-372; Idrīsī, 1994:363) There is no description of the place, but mention is made of the mountain pass leading to it from the gorge of the Yarmūk. Here is what Yāqūt, who summarized the previous material, wrote:

Afīq is a village in the Ḥawrān on the road to the Jordan valley (*al-ghawr*). It stands at the entrance of the celebrated mountain pass of Afīq, which the common people pronounce Fīq. By this mountain pass you descend to the *ghawr*, which is the Jordan. This pass is about two miles long. The town overlooks Tiberias (Tabariyyah) and the lake and many times I have been there. (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1866-70, 3, 924)

The other geographical sources give the distance between Fīq and the other stations on the road (Le Strange, 1890:385; Marmardji, 1951:10,163). The two milestones of ‘Abd al-Malik, and the inscriptions relating to the building of a *khān* (caravanserai) near the mountain pass (*khān al-‘aqabah*) found in the ruins of Fīq are clear evidence to the special position of the place on the main road.

The Fīq Monastery

Fīq was also famous in the middle ages because of its monastery which the Islamic guide to the convents and monasteries calls *Dayr Fīq*. Shābushtī's 10th century *kitāb ad-Diyārāt* (Baghdad, 1951) is a very important document for the position of the monastic institutions under Islam, some 3 centuries after the Islamic conquest, and for the function which many of these institutions fulfilled in the Muslim social life. The monasteries that Shābushtī lists in his guide are mainly those that continued to produce alcoholic beverages, particularly wine. The details about this production and the reports about the "pilgrimages" performed by Muslims for the purpose of drinking (and from time to time also for the love of young Christian boys) are very instructive for evaluating the degree of observing one of the important Islamic ordinances: the prohibition of wine and other alcoholic drinks. On the Monastery of Fīq Shābushtī writes:

The Monastery (*dayr*) is situated at the back (*zahr*) of the mountain-pass of Fīq (*'aqabat Fīq*) between the latter and the Sea of Galilee (Lake of Tiberias—*buḥayrat Ṭabariyyah*). It is dug into the rocks of a mountain, which is in the immediate vicinity of the mountain-pass. It is populated both with its own dwellers, and with the Christians that visit it frequently because of the high esteem which they have for it. People other than Christians (a delicate reference to Muslims M.S.) visit the Monastery for the sake of enjoyment and for drinking there. The Christians claim that it was the first Monastery built in Christianity, and that Christ (*al-masīḥ*), may Allah bless him, used to seek shelter in it, and that from it he summoned the Apostles. There is a stone in the monastery on which Christ used to sit, so they mention; and every one who enters into the place breaks a piece from this stone obtaining a blessing from it. This monastery was built after the name of Christ, peace be on him. The poet Abū Nuwwās has a poem in which he mentions the monastery... It is a very fine poem in which he addresses a Christian youngster with whom he was in love." (Shābushtī, 1966:204; copied with some changes by Yāqūt, *Buldān* s.v. "*Dayr Fīq*")

It seems very possible that this monastery is the one which Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (1924:336-37) calls: "*ad-dayr al-aswad*" the Black Monastery, which he locates near a bridge on the Jordan called al-Jisr al-ʿĀdilī "beneath the 'Aqabah of Fīq" (*al-jisr al-ʿādilī wa-huwa taḥt 'aqabat fīq qurb ad-dayr al-aswad*). No remains could be found of this monastery. It is difficult to know where exactly to look for the "back of the 'aqabah." The most obvious place is the mountain to the west of the pass (since directions begin with the face turned towards the east), overlooking the Sea of Galilee.

The fact that there was a monastery dedicated to Christ in the place, and that there were old local legends about him sojourning and assembling his apostles there, formed the basis for the Muslim traditions that identify the

‘Aqabah of Fīq as the place where Satan (*Iblīs*) tempted Jesus enticing him, unsuccessfully, to announce his divinity (Nuwayrī, 14:244-245). In the same context one should regard the Muslim apocalyptic traditions which say that Jesus kills the Antichrist (*ad-dajjāl*) in ‘Aqabat Fīq (or Afīq). (Marwazī, 1993: 342; more details Elad, 1999:73-75) There is nothing unusual with the name of Jesus being connected to Fīq since the Gospels report that a considerable part of his activity took place both to the west and east of the Sea of Galilee. (Matt. 4:18, 23; 8: 32; 11:20-27; Mark, 6:53-56; 8:22-27; Luke, 9:10-12; John, 1:44)

The remnants of the Synagogues where Jesus spoke and taught have been almost completely obliterated, but enough material was found in many places on the eastern side of the lake to enable the creation of a map tracing their locations. (Six have been identified at the end of the 19th and early 20th century and another 19 have been discovered since). The most impressive synagugue has been excavated in Umm al-Qanāṭir between 2002 and 2004. It was a huge structure built with large ashlar of basalt with decorated gate and colossal basalt columns.

The inscriptions from Fīq come from two sites: the cemetery and the caravanserai known as Khān al-‘Aqabah. Schumacher noted that the site of ancient Fīq was some 100 yards to the south of the last house in the village, in his time. This was also the site of the village cemetery. (Figs. P44, P44a. Schumacher, 1888:137-138)

This description is valid for the present too. Almost all the basalt slabs and ashlar on which the inscriptions had been incised come from the area of the cemetery. Except for a few they are epitaphs. The inscription that Schumacher copied (Pl. 60) belongs to the same large group of epitaphs now kept in the Katzrīn Museum. It is not surprising that Schumacher was not able to copy the inscription accurately. Engraved on black basalt stone, which by nature is very hard and full of small holes, the inscriptions, incised very shallowly, are very hard to see, and much more difficult to photograph.

What Schumacher found on the partly defaced stone, which he discovered in the village, is an epitaph of a woman, reading approximately as follows:

(١) [هذا] (٢) قبر (؟) (٣) عزيزة (٤) ابنت (٥) عمر (٦) رحمها (٧) الله

This is the tomb of ‘Azīzah daughter of ‘Umar. May Allah have mercy on her.

Alternatively it is possible to begin with the words:

(١) [تو] (٢) فيت (٣) عزيزة (٤) ابنت (٥) عمر (٦) رحمها (٧) الله

‘Azīza the daughter of ‘Umar died, may Allah have mercy on her...

There are two local saints in the area of the cemetery which according to Schumacher, were Jāmi‘at al-‘Umarī and Shaykh Fayyād ‘Abd al-Ghanī. (In the index of names, in Latin and Arabic characters. These names appear as: *جامعة العمري* and *شيخ فياض عبد الغني*. Jāmi‘at al-‘Umarī almost surely refers to the mosque—al-Jāmi‘ al-‘Umarī. I could find no mention of these local saints in the sources, but this is not surprising since the whole Middle East, Palestine notwithstanding, is full with sanctuaries of saints, “prophets” and various kinds of other holy people of unknown identity, venerated for no other reason beyond the fact that they exist.

The inscription mentioned above, whose (cardboard) squeeze copy Schumacher lost in his “involuntary bath in the Jordan,” exists only in his reading. As it stands, this reading makes little sense (1888:140):

... لموا الى الله تعالى الوحيد الدنيا محمد مقبل
... احد واربعين وسبع هبات

There is no question that the inscription was in a bad condition, and Schumacher did not enjoy the leisure to work on it. He prepared the squeeze in order to send it to the editor of the *ZDPV* that in all probability would have forwarded it to Max van Berchem, as he did with other inscriptions, as we shall soon see. However the reading of the date is very possible (in spite of the printing mistakes), and should be read: *أحد<ى> واربعين وسبع* *مائة* the year 741/1340-41. If the stone had found its way to the *manzil* of the village-head from Khān al-‘Aqabah then it could have commemorated reconstruction works during the reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā’ūn and soon after him.

Khān al-‘Aqabah

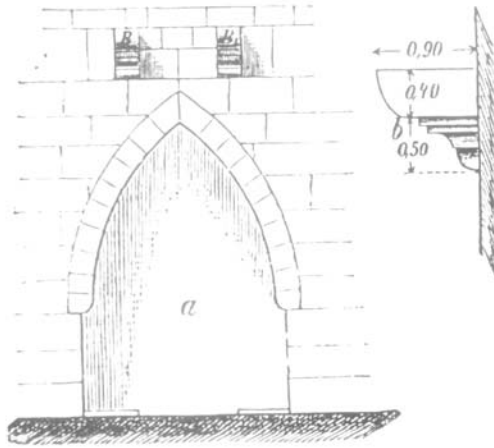
On 9 December 2003, I visited the ruined Khān, some 10 km. located southwest of Fīq (Is. Gr. 2105 2346 N. Is. Gr. 2605 7346), on the main road down from the village to the hot springs of al-Ḥammah—(Heb. Ḥammat Gader. Fig. P45) in the Yarmūk gorge. Turning to the right from the main road, and following a dirt road first in northerly then south-southwesterly direction we reach after about 1.5 km. the ruins of the village of Upper Tawāfīq (*Tawāfīq al-Fawqah*) on the hill overlooking the Sea of Galilee. (Fig. P46) On the northern side of the hill are the remarkable ruins of the large Khān. (Figs. P47; P48) It was an oblong enclosure, 40 by 60 meters, built with huge ashlar of basalt stones, “between which are to be found some with raised embossing, 3 feet in size.” (Figs. P49; P51. Schumacher, 1888:

182) Its northern, and part of its eastern wings are still standing—with an impressive arched gate leading from the courtyard to the main hall in the northern wing. Its original barrel roof is still resting on the massive walls. (Figs. P50, P52) As can be learnt from the stairs leading to the present roof, the Khān was a classical late Ayyūbid, Mamlūk khān with two floors. The pottery find collected from the surface contains many examples of the characteristic Mamlūk glazed ceramics (Green and turquoise), which means that the Khān was active well into the Mamlūk period. A rather rare report confirms this assumption. At the beginning of the year 786/early March 1384 a new Qādī by the name of Burhān ad-Dīn b. Jamā‘ah, who had been the Chief Qādī in Cairo, came to Damascus. Ibh Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) reports that “the governor of Damascus went out as far as Khān al-‘Aqabah to meet him and this is something unheard of for a very long time.” (*Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1968:155)

The rooms and large halls of the Khān surrounded a courtyard about 18m. square. All of them are well built, with barrel roofs. A few gates lead from the courtyard into the various parts of the ground floor. In later ages, after the Khān deteriorated following the decline of the Fīq route, parts of the structure were crudely repaired by occasional dwellers, and by the inhabitants of the village of Upper Tawāfīq that grew up around the ruins of the Khān during the first half of the 20th century. Traces of these repairs are clearly visible in various parts of the ruined Khān. (Fig. P53) The staircase adjacent to the eastern wing in the northeastern corner leads to the upper parts of the building. (Fig. P54) In spite of the fact that almost three out of the four wings are now in ruins there is no problem in reconstructing the plan of this elegant massive building. The main entrance gate into the Khān was from the east (Fig. P49) and this is where Schumacher found the Arabic inscription commemorating its building. Thus is what he wrote describing the Khān:

The walls (basaltic) are occasionally 6½ feet thick. In the east a pointed style of gate, upon which are the remains of a beam arrangement, leads into the courtyard (Pl. 62) The other passages probably one on each side are destroyed... The eastern gate, which is 7 feet and 10½ feet in high, is built of hewn stones. Judging from the pivot holes, the bar of the gate must have been very strong one; 87 yards north of the Khān we find a small square ruin, no doubt a former watchtower. (Schumacher, 1888:181)

Since the inscription that commemorates the building of the Khān gives the exact date of its building (see no. 18 below). Schumacher correctly said that this was a building “from the Moslem period.” However, his conclusion, based on an ornamented basaltic stone which he found in the courtyard,



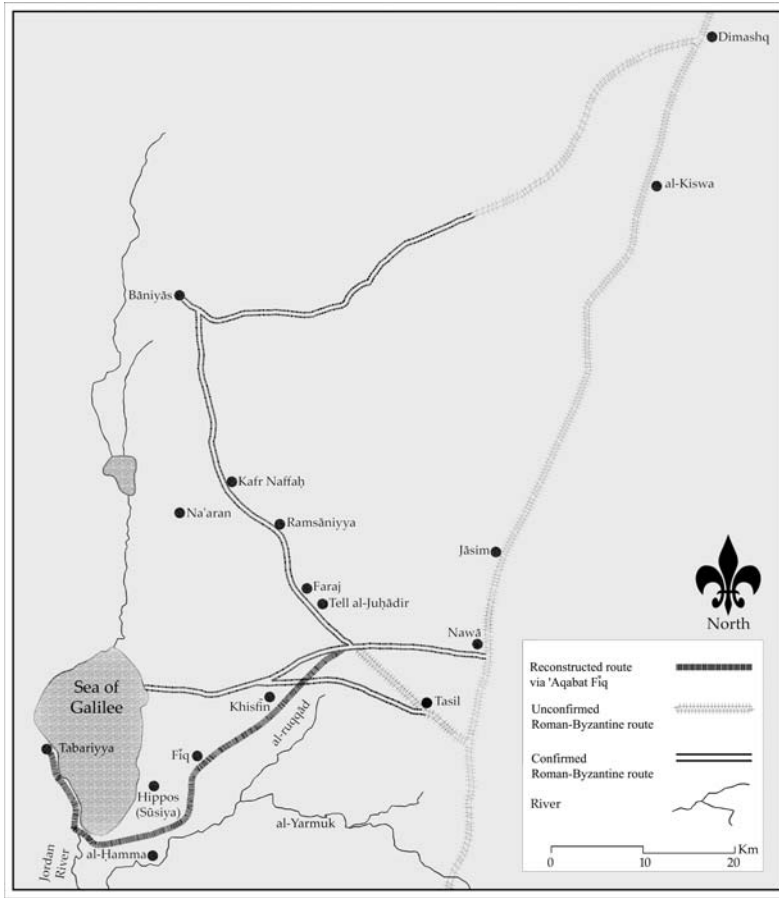
Pl. 62. The eastern gate to Khān al-ʿAqabah
(Schumacher, 1888:182, fig. 72)

that “an ancient building stood here probably dating from the Roman ages” (*ibid.*, 180, 183; Fig. 73) cannot be substantiated by the archeological find. (See also Guérin, *op.cit.*, 310)

The ʿAqabah

Leaving the Khān turning south on the same dirt road leading to the Khān, we arrive at a narrow steep valley flowing with the water of a spring called ʿAyn al-ʿAqabah or ʿAyn al-Khān (Schumacher, 1888:182). It originates at the top of the valley about 150m to the east of the Khān and flows south of it cutting through the steep slopes of the escarpment in the general westward direction of Lower Tawāfīq (the only village with this name at the time of Schumacher’s visit), and the Sea of Galilee. (See maps Pl. 63 and Pl. 64, bottom.) On the southern bank of this ravine (facing north) it is possible to see very clearly the ancient route leading from the lake level upwards, following the contour of the valley, cut into the mountain slope, and strengthened in weak places by stone supporting walls. (*Cf. ibid.*) This is the famous ʿAqabat Fīq (*q.v.*) near which the Khān was built. (Fig. P55)

The road passes next to the Khān and continues northeastward towards the villages on the plateau following the flat terrain to Damascus on one hand and to the Hawrān via Fīq and Khisfīn on the other. (Schumacher *op.cit.*, 180; fig. P56) A German map from the beginning of the 20th century (Pl. 63) delineated this route clearly (after Schumacher) and marked it as “Sultānat el-ákabe”—which is no doubt an echo to the usual reference in Arabic to any major road as Darb as-Sultān—the Imperial (main) Road.



Pl. 64 Major routes east and northeast of the Sea of Galilee (after Elad)

the area and not the name of the monastery. At any rate there is no proof that the ruins mentioned by Guérin are of the famous monastery described by ash-Shābushtī.

Milestones

In 1968 two identical milestones were discovered at Fīq and are now kept at the in the town Museum of Katzrīn. I examined, photographed and read them, at the beginning of the 1990s, but postponed their publication for this volume. These inscriptions were discussed in detail in the entry of Dayr al-Qalt above (*q.v.*). Unlike the four milestones already published by Max van Berchem (*CIA, Jerusalem, "ville,"* 1:17-29) and discussed again in *CIAP*, 1:4-5 and 2:4-7 (where the headline "construction text" should be "milestone"), these two are *dated*, and they contain the name of the man in

charge of their positioning. This last fact is particularly interesting because all the three inscriptions commemorating the works in the 'Aqabah route during the time of 'Abd al-Malik are both dated and bear the name of the official in charge of the work. The pavement of the 'Aqabah (*q.v.* "Aqabat Fīq") was accomplished under the supervision of Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam, the caliph's paternal uncle, and the two milestones were erected by Musāwir, the caliph's *mawlā*. Like the 'Aqabah inscription also these two milestones were engraved on the hard basalt stone, which makes the incision of the letters very difficult even for the most professional hand. This is the reason why in all the three inscriptions, the letters are far less perfect than most of the other imperial inscription of this caliph, that were engraved on the softer limestone. The milestones being no more than 40cm. in height must have been built into a structure, which raised them considerably above the ground; their form and size suggest that they were used as ashlar in such structures. In some later date, the milestones were utilized in a secondary usage as building stones, and were chiseled to fit into place in their new function, which accounts for the loss of parts of the inscriptions in both of them. In what follows the inscription will be discussed together.

1

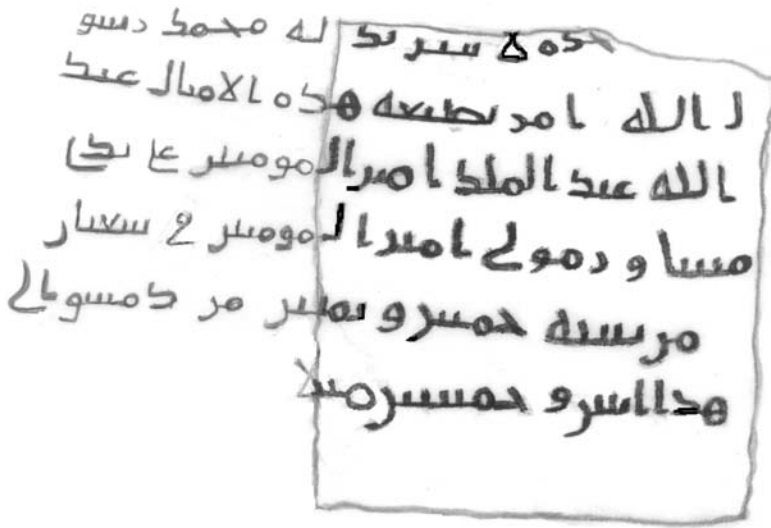
Milestone

Sha'bān 85/8 Aug.-5 Sept. 704

A block of basalt, 0.28.5x0.29x0.25m. (IAA inventory no. 860001 at the Katzrin Museum). Originally the stone was one third larger, about 0.37x0.37m. The top and the left parts of the stone were broken and lost, but its missing text can easily be reconstructed from the twin milestone (no. 2 below) that was placed merely one mile away, and was engraved by the same hand and commemorated the work of the same inspector. 6 lines, simple, angular, medium size (2.5 cm.) Umayyad script; no points, no vowels. Publication: Elad, 1999:33-38. (Fig. 65. Pl. 46)

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله (١) وحده لا شريك له محمد رسو (٢) ل الله امر
بصنعة هـ [هذه الأميال عبد (٣) الله عبد الملك أمير الـ [مؤمنين على يدي (٤) مساور
مولي أمير الـ [مؤمنين في شعبان (٥) من سنة خمس وثمانين من دمشق الى (٦) هذا
اثنين وخمسين (!) ميلا (ميل؟)].

(Basmalah. There is no god but Allah) alone. He has no companion. Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Has ordered the construction of these milestones the servant



Pl. 65. Fīq: milestone 1 85/704

of Allah ‘Abd al-Malik the Commander of the Faithful, under the supervision (“by the hands”) of Musāwir the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful in (the month of) Sha‘bān of the year 85 (=8 Aug.—5 Sept. 704). From Damascus to this (milestone)—52 miles.

2

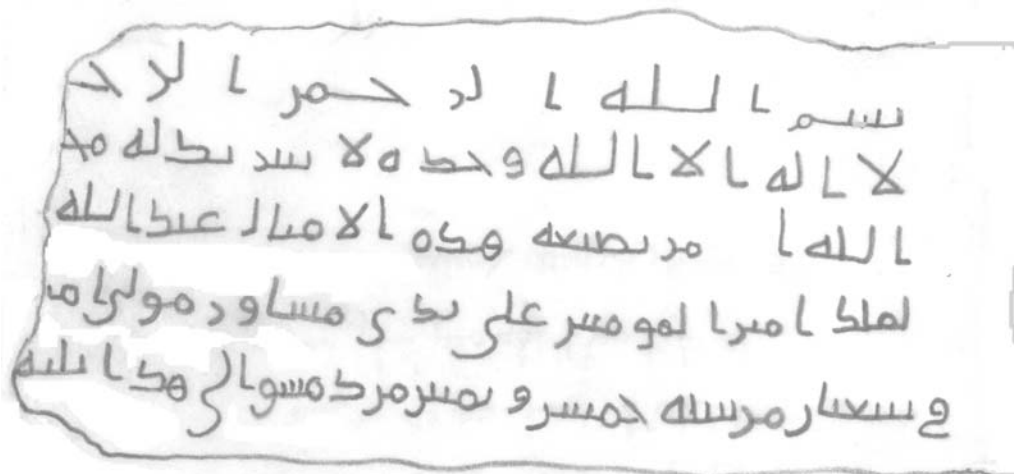
Milestone

Sha‘bān 85/8 Aug.-5 Sept. 704

A rectangular block of basalt 0.80x0.39x0.23 m. (IAA inventory no. 876313 at the Katzrin Museum). About 1/6 of the stone was chiseled away on the left, but the missing few words of the inscription (one or two in each line) can easily be reconstructed. 5 lines, simple, angular, medium size (3cm.), Umayyad script; no points, no vowels. Publication: Elad, 1999:33-38. (Fig. 61. Pl. 66)

١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [٢] لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ [رَسُولُ]
 ٣) اللَّهُ أَمَرَ بِصَنْعَةِ هَذِهِ الْأُمِّيَّالِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ [عَبْدُ] ٤) الْمَلِكِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي مُسَاوِيرٍ مَوْلَى
 أَمِيرِ [الْمُؤْمِنِينَ] ٥) فِي شَعْبَانَ مِنْ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَثَمْنِينَ مِنْ دِمَشْقَ إِلَى هَذَا ثَلَاثَةَ [وِخْمْسِينَ] (!)
 مِيلًا (مِيل؟)

Basmalah. There is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion. Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Has ordered the construction of these milestones the servant of Allah



Pl. 66. Fīq: milestone 2—85/704

‘Abd al-malik the Commander of the Faithful under the supervision (“by the hands”) of Musāwir the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful in the month of Sha‘bān of the year 85 (=8 Aug.—5 Sept. 704). From Damascus to this (milestone)—53 miles.

In what follows I shall deal with both inscriptions, as one whole, since there can hardly be a question that these two milestones are practically identical. They represent the same master formula; they were erected in their respective places—one mile apart—by the same supervisor, and were engraved by the same hand. Their date—Sha‘bān 85, probably less than a month before the caliph’s death (in Shawwāl the same year) mean that these mile stones were practically his last project, culminating his grand plan of locating his milestones all along the route between his capital and Jerusalem. If one takes the accomplishment of the building of the Dome of the Rock in 72, and the leveling of ‘Aqabat Fīq in 73 as the starting point of this project, then it seems that it took about 12 years to complete at least its main part.

I have already pointed out that the three inscriptions hitherto discovered in the Golan mention the names of the supervisors of the work, and they are also dated. The date, however, is also peculiar to these inscriptions only. It is a detailed date specifying the month in which the works were accomplished: Muḥarram, 73 (the ‘Aqabah) and Sha‘bān 85 (the mile stones), thirteen years apart. No other milestone of ‘Abd al-Malik, not even the inscription at the Dome of the rock, has this detail. From these dates it is clear that the project of paving the last stage of the route to Damascus, was accomplished long before its delineation by milestones.

1-2 L.2: *waḥdahu*. Omitted by Elad (1999:37, surely a printing mistake).

The word appears clearly in inscription 2 and after examining the stone and my photographs of inscription 1, I can see in it the traces of *ḥā*, *dāl* and *hā*. There is no question that even if the sentence after the *basmalah*, declaring the perfect unity of Allah, were not preserved in inscription no. 2 it should have been added in the reconstruction, which in this case is not needed. The sentence in this line is the “trade mark” of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik. It appears on all his inscriptions and coins. I have pointed out a few times before that this formula is not a simple declaration of faith; it is a political agenda. ‘Abd al-Malik went all the way to emphasize the monotheism of Islam in contradistinction from the Christian Trinity and the Sonship of Jesus. The Unity of Allah “who has no companion” emerged as the banner slogan of his policy to terminate all dependence on the Byzantine Empire. The Arabization of the administration went hand in hand with the Islamization of the state. One of the methods to publicize this policy was to put into circulation the *full shahādah* or Declaration of Faith. “There is no god but Allah alone *he has no companion* Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah” was the formula inscribed on his gold and silver coins, and on every imperial inscription, and its first part even on bronze coins (Barag, 1988-89:42-43. In subsequent generations it was adopted as a standard formula on most of the Islamic coinage. See e.g. Nicol, 1988-89:61f).

This message was strengthened by the Qur’ānic verse (Q, 61:9) indicating that Allah “sent his messenger with the guidance and the religion of the truth (*dīn al-ḥaqq*) that he may make it pre-eminent above all religion, though averse are the polytheists” inscribed around the border of the coins. The “polytheists” no doubt were not those originally meant by the Prophet, but rather the Christians against whom the Caliph, directed his propaganda. (Cf. Maqrīzī, 1967:11-13; Walker, 1956, *passim*) These inscriptions are yet another example of this policy.

The issue of the routes to Jerusalem and Damascus and the erection of milestones by ‘Abd al-Malik, as well as related topics, such as the measure of the Arab mile, were discussed in previous entries (*s.v.* “Abū Ghūsh,” “Bāb al-Wād,” “Dayr al-Qalt”). The detail peculiar to these twin inscriptions (Ins. 1-2, 1.4) is the identity of the supervisor of the work, identified by his name Musāwir, and of his status as the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, namely ‘Abd al-Malik. Elad contributed an impressive dissertation (Elad, 1999:50-63) concerning a certain Arab poet called Musāwir b. Hind b. Qays b. az-Zubayr al-‘Absī who was a very distant relative of the Caliph through marriage. (Not “blood relation” *idem.*, 1999:59-60) ‘Abd al-Malik married Wallādah, the mother of his sons Walīd and Sulaymān; she was the poet’s

fourth cousin. To these princes the poet could have been regarded as some sort of a distant *khāl*—maternal uncle. However, Elad shows that he was an intimate acquaintance of ‘Abd al-Malik and “used to come and go from the Caliph’s court.” (*Idem.*, 50) He also thinks that the “blood relationship through the mother paved the way” for members of the tribe of ‘Abs “to the caliph’s court and to ...prominent positions and wealth” (*idem.*, 63 based on anecdotes in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 7, 1996:2919, 2930). All this said, there is no proof whatsoever that Musāwir of our inscription is the poet described by Elad (who does not claim that the poet was definitely the supervisor of the caliph). Musāwir however is a well known Arab name (*Lisān*, 4:388b) and the fact that he is called *mawlā* of the Commander of the faithful does not necessarily mean that he was anything more than in a position of serving the caliph and enjoying the status of being one of his protégées. This is one of the many meanings of this word (*Lisān*, 15:408) in addition to the more confined legal or semi-legal ones (for which see Elad’s long discussion; 1999:51ff.), and in this case there is no need to force into the phrase in the inscription more than there is in it.

Epitaphs

A large number of tombstones were found in the area of the Fīq cemetery. The inscriptions are short, incised on long and narrow blocks of basalt, and most of them are so worn out that reading them is impossible. The engraving on basalt stone being extremely difficult compelled the engravers to incise very short epitaphs, no more than a few words, skipping all the religious formulae that are very common on Muslim tombstones as well as the date or any other detail beyond the names of the deceased, and of his, or her, father. The script is angular and seems to be from the early centuries of Islam. The rather simple tombstones engravers preferred the angular script, since the rounded *naskhī* was far too difficult to inscribe on basalt. For this reason most of the inscriptions seem to come from the Umayyad or early ‘Abbāsīd periods, but I am sure that there are many that could be of later periods about which I have no tools to pass confident judgment. In other words the inscriptions have similar appearance and present about the same script and text. For this reason I shall not make the effort in what follows to propose guess reading for inscriptions that are too worn out, but I shall point out the inscriptions that depart from the pattern.

3

Epitaph of a Muslim

Early 3rd/9th c.

A slab of basalt 0.45x0.71m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin. (neg. 127051) 3 lines at the upper third of the stone, since the greater part of it was inserted into the ground. Simple angular, shallow and worn out script, incised, no points, no vowels. The following reading is sure. (Fig. 62 courtesy IAA)

(١) هذا قبر ابراهيم (٢) بن اسمعيل رحمه الله (٣)

This is the tomb of Ibrahīm b. Ismaʿīl may Allah have mercy on him.

L.2: the *ʿayn* in the name Ismaʿīl (written according to the Qurʾānic spelling without and elongating *alif*) is closed, a fact that pushes the date of the inscription well into the 9th century. Like almost all the epitaphs at Fīq only the most necessary words were incised on the hard basalt, and they all lack religious formulae.

4

Epitaph of a Muslim

Late 2nd/8th c.

A long and narrow slab of basalt 0.30x1.10m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin. (neg. 127055) 3 hardly visible lines at the upper part of the stone, since the greater part of it was inserted into the ground. Simple angular, very shallow and worn out script, incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 63 courtesy IAA)

(١) سلامة (٢) ابن أحمد (٣) رحمه الله

Salāmah b. Aḥmad may Allah have mercy on him.

Much effort was put into the cutting of this stele but the writing on it was originally so shallow that today it can barely be seen. The name Salāmah can be read Sulaymān too, but I prefer the former.

Epitaph of a Muslim

3rd / 9th c.

A fragment of slab of basalt 0.35x0.30m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 127031). 3 visible lines covering the whole fragment. Slender stylized, professional provincial angular script, incised deeper than the average epitaph from the site, no points, no vowels. The original inscription was only slightly larger than the fragment. The parts lost were on the right and the bottom. (Fig. 64 courtesy IAA)

(١) [هذا قبر] — القسم بن ٢) عَسَل رَحْمَهُ ٣) [الـ] له [وتقبل منه/وتقبله (؟)]

(This is the tomb) of al-Qāsim b. 'Isl (or 'Asal) may Allah have mercy on him and accept (from) him (good deeds etc.)

This was a beautifully produced inscription. The stone face was well prepared, the space between the lines was properly measured and the professional engraver chose fine slender script, which we find up to the 4th/10th century, and even later. The name al-Qāsim (in *scripta defectiva*) in line 1 seems correct. The name 'Isl, and the variant 'Asal are well known Arab names. (Ibn Mākūlā, 6, 1990:206-207) The reconstruction of the words in line 3 is based on the remnants of this line.

Epitaph of a Muslim

2nd / 8th c.

A slab of basalt 0.65x0.40m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 59009). 4 visible lines covering more than half of the stone. Simple provincial angular script, shallowly incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 65 courtesy IAA)

(١) هذا قبر ٢) الأمير محمد بن ٣) هاشم رحمه ٤) الله ورضي عـ [نه]

This is the tomb of the amīr Muḥammad b. Hāshim. May Allah have mercy on him, and be pleased with him.

I am pretty sure about the reading, but I could find no trace of a prince called by this name (if my reading of the word *amīr* is correct) though the name itself is quite common. Ibn 'Asākir mentions under the entry of

Muḥammad b. Hāshim at least three Ḥadīth transmitters from central Syria though none of them can be described as a prince.

7

Epitaph of a Muslim

Late 2nd /early 9th c.

A slab of basalt 0.40x0.25m. kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58339). 4 visible lines, covering more than half of the stone. Simple provincial angular script, shallowly incised; no points, no vowels. (Fig. 66 courtesy IAA)

(١) هذا قبر [٢] محمد بن (٣) عمرو رحمه الله (٤)

This is the tomb of Muḥammad b. ‘Amr may Allah have mercy on him.

The script is early Islamic, the only reason to move its date to the late 2nd century is the letter *mīm* in Muḥammad (1.2) that comes above the *hā’*.

8

Late 2nd /early 9th c.

A slab of basalt 0.50x0.30m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58325). 3 visible lines covering one third of the stone. Simple provincial angular script, shallowly incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 67 courtesy IAA)

[هذا قبر (١) محمد بن أنس (٢) رحمه الله (٣) ورضي (٤) عنه]

(This is the tomb) of Muḥammad b. Anas may Allah have mercy on him, and be pleased with him.

L.1: the name Muḥammad is sure although only traces remained from the first two letters.

L.3: From the word *wa-raḍiya*, I can clearly see the *wāw* and traces of the *rā’*, and *ḍād*. What looks like a *mīm* could be just a damage in the middle of the *rā’*. *Taqabbala minhu* could be another possibility if I could see any trace of a *lām*.

Late 2nd /early 9th c.

A thick slab of basalt 0.98x0.37x0.10m. very well cut and smoothed. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58339). 4 visible lines covering about one third of the stone. Simple provincial angular script, small letters very shallowly incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 68 courtesy IAA) The following reading is almost sure (based also on the examination of the stone) in spite of the fact that most of the inscription is hardly discernible on the black basalt.

(١) [هذا قبر] — (٢) محمد (٣) بن عمر (٤) رحمه الله

This is the Tomb of Muḥammad b. ‘Umar. May Allah have mercy on him.

L.2: The name Muḥammad was spread over the whole width of the stone.

Epitaph of a Muslim Woman

3rd/9th c.

A narrow and long slab of basalt 0.72x0.30m., and similar to the previous one, very well cut. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58336). 5 visible lines covering almost half of the stone. Beautiful stylized provincial angular script, well defined letters similar to no. 5 above, and probably engraved by the same hand; incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 69 courtesy IAA)

(١) [هذا قبر] مؤ(?) (٢) منة ابنت (٣) يزيد ر (٤) حمها الله (٥) وغفر لها

(This is the tomb) of Mu‘minah (?) the daughter of Yazīd. May Allah have mercy on her, and forgive her.

The first line is too defaced to enable reading, but there is no reason to rule out that it contains the usual formula of “this is the tomb of...” I am almost certain that this line also contains the first two letters of the deceased name which I am not sure about its reading. I offered the name Mu‘minah though there are also other possibilities.

11

Epitaph of a Muslim

2nd/8th c.

A slab of basalt approximately 0.43x0.38m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 278705). 3 visible lines covering half of the stone. Simple Umayyad provincial angular script, medium size; letters very shallowly but professionally incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 70 courtesy IAA) The following reading is almost sure (based also on the examination of the stone) in spite of the fact that most of the inscription is hardly discernible on the black basalt

(١) [هذا] قبر عبد الصمد (٢) بن دهير رحمه (٣) الله

This is the tomb of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Duhayr. May Allah have mercy on him.

L.1: I can only see a trace of the *ṣād* of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, but I cannot think about any other name that could fit here.

L.2: The name Duhayr can also be read Dahīr; both names are known, but the second one has the variant Zahīr. (Ibn Mākūlā, 3, 1990:340)

12

Epitaph of a Muslim woman

1st-2nd/8th-9th c.

A long and narrow slab of basalt 0.81x0.3m. originally very well cut and smoothed, but later broken on the right presumably to fit a secondary usage. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58335). 6 visible lines covering about two thirds of the stone. The first line completely obliterated. Simple provincial angular script, medium size letters shallowly incised; no points, no vowels. (Fig. 71 courtesy IAA)

(١) [هذا قبر] (٢) عزيزة (٣) ابنت (٤) عصا (٥) م رحمه (٦) الله

(This is the tomb) of ‘Azīzah daughter of ‘Iṣām. May Allah have mercy on her.

Ll.4-5: The name ‘Iṣām can also be ‘Idāḥ, which is less common.

13

Epitaph of a Muslim

Late 2nd/early 8th c.(?)

A slab of basalt 0.55x0.35m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 58298). 3 visible lines covering about half of the stone. Simple provincial angular script, small letters shallowly incised, no points, no vowels. (Fig. 72 courtesy IAA)

(١) یرحم ربی (٢) لعمر بن (٣) مسعود

May my Lord have mercy on 'Umar b. Mas'ūd

I am not happy with the reading but I could not find a better one. The verb *yarham* is transitive; it does not need the preposition *li* before the object. Also the word *rabbī* seems doubtful although *yā'* is very clear. Any other reading (such as *yarhamuka*) makes the sentence completely impossible.

14

Epitaph of a Muslim

80/699-700?

A slab of basalt 0.64x0.35m. Kept in the Museum in Katzrin (neg. 26984). 3 visible lines covering less than one third of the stone; provincial, Umayyad, angular script, small letters, incised; no points, no vowels. (Fig. 73 courtesy IAA)

(١) رحم ربی (٢) یحیی بن الحکم (٣) وغفر له

May my Lord have mercy on Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam and forgive him.

If this really is the writing on the tomb of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam, 'Abd al-Malik's uncle who had been entrusted with the work of leveling the 'Aqabah of Fīq, then we are encountered with an unusual co-incidence. For me, personally it would be a closure of a circle, since the 'Aqabah inscription was the first inscription that I read in 1964, and published in 1966 in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, (29(2):367-372). This was also the beginning of my scholarly interest in Arabic epigraphy, which led me to Paris to study with the late Gaston Wiet who introduced me into the art of working with Arabic inscriptions of which he was a great master.

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam was a colourful figure, and anecdotes about him are

scattered throughout the classical Arabic literature. He was regarded a poet, if one accepts as genuine the verses attributed to him (e.g. *Nasab Quraysh*, 1951:179; Ṭabarī, 2:376). He was considered somewhat easy in his Islamic adherence, if one is ready to accept the story that he called the Prophet's city of Medina no less than *Khabīthah* (Impure, Mischievous) (*Aghānī* (Būlāq), 14:10), or should this utterance be attributed to the stupidity ascribed to him (but not always justified) by bad tongues? (cf. *ibid.*, 11:89 ll.21-26; 141 ll. 18-20; 17:161) The stories about his good looks and love for beautiful women must have been topics of juicy gossip (*ibid.*, 11:89-90), which was further spiced by the stories about his hate of the effeminate bisexuals (*mukhannathūn*). (*Ibid.*, 4:39)

As a senior member of the ruling House of he was nominated to important posts by his nephew, but it seems that he did not always behave in accordance with the protocol; again, if we are to accept something of the anecdotes as historical information. It is possible, however, that he actually viewed the killing of Ḥusayn and of 'Umar b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq as dishonorable acts (*Nasab Quraysh*, 1951:179; Ṭabarī 2:460-461, 465), and there is no reason to doubt the fact of his nomination for a short period as the governor of Medina in 75/694, a post from which the caliph deposed him in favour of Abbān the son of the third caliph 'Uthmān. (Khalīfah, *Ta'rikh*, 226, 229; Ṭabarī, 2:863, 873, 940, 1085). It is also quite possible that in 78/697 he commanded one of the seasonal campaigns against the Byzantines. (*Ibid.*, 2:1035), which is quite possible.

His behaviour was frequently embarrassing for the caliph, and more than once he, as the paternal uncle, was less than careful in his behaviour towards his ruling nephew. A very famous anecdote describes the competition between him and 'Abd al-Malik for the hand of Zaynab the daughter of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith who was considered to be the most beautiful woman of her time ("on top she was a rod and her bottom part—a rounded hill: *a'lāhā qadīb wa-asfaluhā kathīb*). She was the widow of Abbān b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. On the issue of re-marrying one of the two suitors, Zaynab and her brother, al-Mughīrah b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, preferred Yaḥyā who paid at least thirty times the dowry offered by the caliph. (It is also said that she fancied the full lips of Yaḥyā to the rotten teeth of the caliph.) The angry 'Abd al-Malik deposed his uncle from every official post and confiscated his property. (*Nasab Quraysh*, 307; *Aghānī*, 15:49) These are probably the embellished facts, but the colourful story has many more luscious details. A verse was even attributed to the amorous Yaḥyā who said after the confiscation of his property: (*ult. loc. cit.*):

I care not if today they're out to rob, depose and plunder me.

With two dried cakes my lot is bright if Zaynab now is here with me.

Later, we are told, the caliph made it up to him, returned his property, and in an unusual outburst of generosity even gave an order to pay the bride's dowry from the public treasury, or so the anecdote say. (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5, 1936:163). Above and beyond the anecdotal information there is no question about the fact that Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam's name was preserved on the stone, and the stone does not lie. In 73 his work on the project of leveling the 'Aqabah was commemorated on one basalt slab, and when he died in 80/699-700 a simple basalt tombstone also carried his name. All this is said with the reservation that there could have been another Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam. However, as much as I wish to be careful, I cannot help wondering about the historical justice of Yahyā laid to rest next to probably his most important achievement. (More details see *BSOAS*, 1966, *loc. cit.*)

15

Epitaph of a Muslim

Late 1st/8th c.

A slab of Basalt, 0.49x0.30m. broken at the top and the bottom; 4 visible lines, simple angular, provincial script; incised, no points, no vowels. Transferred from the site to IAA storage in 'Afulah, and from there probably to Jerusalem. (Fig. 74)

[هذا] (١) قبر (٢) عبيد (٣) بن عمرو ر (٤) حمه الله

This is the tomb of 'Ubayd b. 'Amr may Allah have mercy on him.

16

Epitaph of a Muslim

Late 1st /8th c.

A block of Basalt, 0.53x0.25m. broken at the top and the bottom. 2 visible lines, angular, provincial script; incised, no points, no vowels. Transferred from the site to IAA storage in 'Afulah, and from there probably to Jerusalem. (Fig. 75)

[هذا] (١) قبر عزيز (عزيز) [بن] عثمان (٢) رحمه [الله]

This is the grave of ‘Azīz b. ‘Uthmān. May Allah have mercy on him.

The names can be read in other variations too, such as ‘Uzayr, ‘Urayn and a few others. The stone was damaged on the left. This necessitated the obvious reconstructions. I am almost sure about the name ‘Uthmān (in *scriptio defectiva*) which I verified on the stone.

17

Construction text—Khān al-‘Aqabah

Early 7th/13th c.

A large fragment of a block of basalt 1.21x0.45m. brought to Kibbutz Degania B from Fīq or Upper Tawāfīq in 1967. It was used in the building of an air shelter in the Kibbutz, and discovered there by Joseph Stepansky, antiquities inspector for the IAA. I estimate that the present fragment represents one third of the original inscription. 2 lines, elaborate, monumental Ayyūbid *naskhī*, a few points, no vowels and no decorative elements, incised. (Fig. 76, and 76a, with, and without whitening agent)

(١) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعما] ر[ة] هذا الخان المبارك العد(١) الفقير ا[7] at least 7 words
(٢) أعز الله نصره تاريخه سنة ...

(Basmalah. Hath ordered the building of) this blessed *khān* the needy servant ...may Allah strengthen his victory. Its date is ...

The stone must have come from the ruins of Khān al-‘Aqabah, either directly from the ruins of Upper Tawāfīq or from Fīq itself. It had been used in secondary usage in either one of these two places, and the builders, shaping it for their purposes, destroyed its beginning and its end, chipping away the name of the builder and the date. In comparison to the other inscriptions engraved on basalt, this inscription is particularly well produced by highly professional hand and judging by its size, over 3.5m. (if the inscription was on one block), it was a huge monumental inscription on a stone that could easily be a lintel of a gate.

L.1: The letter *rāʾ* is clearly visible. I believe it belonged to the word *‘imārat*. The letter *tāʾ marbūṭah* was incised on top (see *naṣrahu* in line 2). The word *al-‘abd* was incised without the *bāʾ*, an inattentive omission the like of which we shall soon see in following inscription too.

The script allows us to place this inscription, most probably, at the same date as the following one commemorating the building of the *khān* in the year 610/1213-14 and attribute it to the same builder ‘Izz ad-Dīn Aybak. If I am right then the inscription may be reconstructed more or less as follows:

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعمارة هذا الخان المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الأمير
(٢) عز الدين ايبك الملكي المعظمي أعز الله نصره تاريخه سنة . عشر وستمائة

Basmalah. Hath ordered the building of this blessed *khān* the servant who is in need for Allah the Exalted, the amīr ‘Izz ad-Dīn Aybak the Mamlūk of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā; may Allah strengthen his victory. Its date is the year 610 (=1231-14)

18

Construction Text—Khān al-‘Aqabah

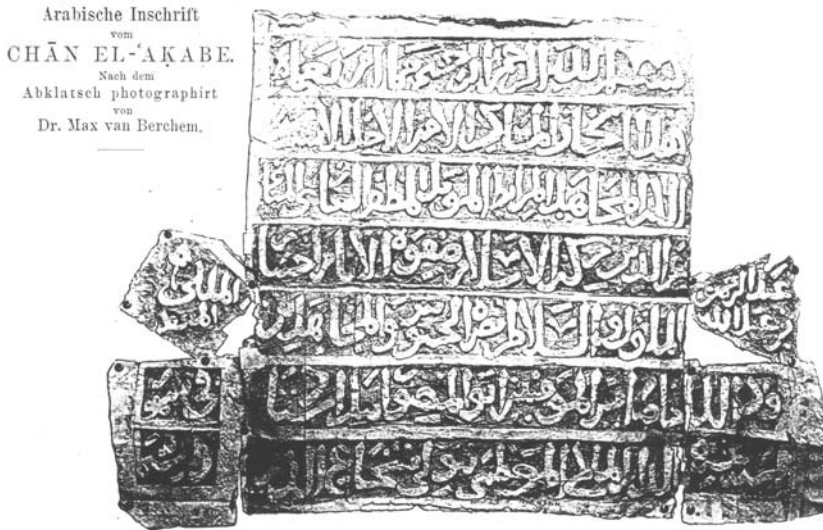
610/1213-14

A block of limestone 1.05x0.75m. discovered by Gottlieb Schumacher at the eastern entrance to Khān al-‘Aqabah. He prepared a squeeze of the inscription, which he sent to the Deutsche Palaestina Vereins, and van Berchem published it in the German Society’s Journal (*ZDPV* 1893) with copious notes.

Since its discovery in the late 19th century, the inscription was almost completely destroyed along with the destruction of the Khān, whose eastern gate where the inscription had been originally posted fell into complete ruin. Only a fragment of the monumental inscription was found in the ruins when examined by the IAA inspectors in 1968, and brought to the Museum at Katzrin. The main field of the inscription was engraved on the front face of a block of stone, and flanked by additional text on the middle and bottom left and right side-faces of the block. This means that the block was built as part of the right (or the left) gatepost this is the only place where the inscription could be seen from three sides. This of course makes the gateposts 1.05m. thick.

7 lines in main field divided by bands, enclosed in an engraved double frame, and 3 lines on the right and left faces of the block. Each line on the right face of the stone was continued on its left. The writing on both faces was also enclosed by frames, and divided by bands. From the initial block only the bottom right part remained measuring about 0.50x0.40m. about one quarter of the original, and from the inscription remained only the beginnings of 3 lines in the main field and the beginning of 2 lines on the right face. Monumental, Ayyūbid elaborate script interwoven letters, scat-

tered points and vowels, in relief. (Fig. 77 courtesy IAA. Neg. No. 126988 Pl. 67) Publication: M. Van Berchem, *ZDPV*, 16, 1893:85=*Opera Minora*, 1: 540; *RCEA*, 10, 1939:84, No. 3720). The following is van Berchem's reading with his corrections and notes (*ZDPV*, *MuN*, 1903:38 n.3, 54=*Opera Minora*, 1:316, 332 and *RCEA*). The parts of the inscription preserved in the existing fragment are underlined.



Pl. 67. Khān al-ʿAqabah original photograph of the squeeze. (1893)

١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَا أَمَرَ بِعِمَارَةِ ٢) هَذَا الْخَانِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْأَمِيرِ الْأَجَلِ الْإِسْفَ—[هَسَلَار] ٣) الْكَبِيرِ (!) الْمَجَاهِدِ الْمُرَاطِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ الْمُظْفَرِ الْغَازِيِ الْمَثَاغِرِ ٤) عَزَّ الدِّينَ رُكْنَ الْإِسْلَامِ صَفْوَةَ الْأَنْامِ اخْتِيَارِ ٥) الْمُلُوكِ وَالسَّلَاطِنِ (!) نَصْرَةَ الْجَيْشِ وَالْمَجَاهِدِينَ ٦) خَاصَّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَبُو الْمَنْصُورِ أَبِيكَ أَسْتَاذِ ٧) الدَّارِ الْمَلِكِيِّ الْمُعْظَمِيِّ بِتَوَلَّى شَجَاعِ الدِّينِ (middle right face) ١) عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ ٢) بَنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ (middle left face) ١) الْمَلِكِيِّ ٢) الْمُعْظَمِ—[ي] (bottom) ١) وَذَلِكَ (bottom left face) ١) فِي شَهْرِ ٢) سَنَةِ عَشْرَةِ (bottom left face) ٢) وَسِتْمِائَةِ

Basmalah. The construction of this blessed khān is of what has ordered the most illustrious amīr the great military commander, the fighter in the Holy War, he who is stationed on the border (against the enemy), whose decisions are confirmed, the victorious, participant in the raids (against the enemies of Islam), the elect of humanity, the one chosen by kings and sultans, he who brings victory to the armies and fighters in the Holy War, the intimate friend of the Commander of the Faithful, Abū al-Manṣūr Aybak, the major-domo (and the mamlūk) of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, under the supervision of Shujāʿ ad-Dīn ʿAbd ar-Rahmān b. ʿAbdallah the mamlūk of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, and this took place during the months of the year 610 (=1213/14)

L.1: The beginning of the inscription with the word *mimmā*—"of which," of that which"—is not unusual in inscriptions from this and later periods. It is identical to the more proper form such as *mimmā amr bi-ʿimāratihi* "of what he has ordered its building." It means that this work is one of many other building projects of the amīr. It can be ignored, and the translation of the inscription can simply begin with: "Has ordered the building of this blessed khān..." (cf. van Berchem, 1893:85 = *Opera Minora*, 1:540)

L.2: *al-isfasalār*. The word is not very clear. Van Berchem first read it *al-ashraf* with a question mark but a few years later he corrected it rightly to *isfahsalār* (*ZDPV*, *MuN*, 1903:38 n.3; *RCEA*, 10, no. 3720)—the Persian title, meaning General, high rank commander of army which we frequently find in inscription from the period. (e.g. *CIA*, Jerusalem "ville," 1: 276; "*Haram*," 2:27, 30; nos. 150, 152)

L.3: The first word was written **الكبر** or so it seems in the photograph. There is no question about the reading *al-kabīr*, and this is the reading adopted by the *RCEA*.

L.5: Another minor omission: the word *aṣ-ṣalāṭin* instead of *aṣ-ṣalāṭīn*.

L.6-7: ʿIzz ad-Dīn Abū al-Mansūr Aybak (Turkish: Āy Beg) al-Muʿazzamī was, as his *nisbah* shows, the Mamlūk of al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā. For the first time we know his *kunya*, Abū al-Mansūr only from this inscription. Muʿazzam ʿĪsā was the governor of Damascus during sultanate of his father al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and virtually the ruler of the whole of the Syrian domains (597-615/1200-1218). After al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's death, he became the sultan of the Kingdom of Damascus (615-624/1218-1227), which consisted of the whole territory from Ḥimṣ to al-ʿArīsh. (Ibn Khallikān, 3:495-96). When during the time of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā was in charge of Syria he chose his own Mamlūk, ʿIzz ad-Dīn Aybak, for the post of the governorship (*wilāyah*) of the district of Bāniyās which could have included the southern part of the Golan with Fīq too. (See details and relevant inscriptions, *CIAP*, 2:48-55)

In an inscription from Mount Tabor dated 609/1212-1213 Aybak was defined as *khādim*, that is to say a eunuch. (This is the term that Ibn Khaldūn (5:35) also uses to describe him. For the synonym of *khādim* and *khaṣī* see in detail Ayalon, 1999:207 ff, 268ff.). The inscription reads as follows:

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر ٢) بعمارة هذا المكان المبارك ٣) الأمير عز الدين أيك الخاد
٤) م الملكي المعظمي في سنة ٥) تسع وستماية عمل يحيا (?) ابو القاسم

Basmalah. Has ordered the building of this blessed place the amīr ʿIzz ad-Dīn Aybak, the eunuch, the mamlūk of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam (ʿĪsā). (Van Berchem in *ZDPV MuN*, 1903:38 Corrected in *RCEA*, 10, 1939:74 No. 3705)

At the same time Aybak received the town of Ṣarkhad (Ṣalkhad) in the Hawrān and the areas around it as a fief. His name was so closely connected with the place that he became known as “The lord of Ṣarkhad.” (*al-maʿrūf bi-ṣāhib ṣarkhad*, Ibn Khallikān, 3, 1970:494). Eunuchs were quite frequently nominated as lords of fortresses, and there are more examples that Ṣarkhad was bestowed from time to time on a eunuch (Ayalon, 1999:339-346). In addition to Aybak’s natural talents, his being a eunuch-mamlūk of Muʿazzam ʿĪsā made him a natural candidate for the sensitive office of *ustādār* (*ustād dār*, *ustādh ad-dār*, *ustād ad-dār*)—“majordomos.” (On the choice of unuchs for sensitive positions in the master’s household see Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 268-28; and on ʿIzz ad-Dīn Aybak see Ibn Khallikān, 3, 1970:494-496; also: coll. van Berchem, “Bāniyās,” *ZDPV*, 1893:86f=*Opera Minora*, 1:539ff; “Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien II,” *ZDPV*, *MuN*, 1903, 36, 38 n.3, 54). *Ustādh ad-dār* or *ustād dār* was also one of the titles by which he was known. In an inscription commemorating the building of a Tower (*burj*) in Qalʿat ar-Rabaḍ near ʿAjlūn, Aybak is defined only by this title *ustādh ad-dār* of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam (unlike the inscription under discussion in which so many honorific adjectives are attached his name). The inscription reads:

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أنشأ هذا البرج (٢) المبارك أيبك بن عبد الله أستاذ الدار المعظمي
(٣) في شهر سنة أحد عشر وستمئة

Basmalah. Has established this blessed tower Aybak b. ʿAbdallah the major-domo of (al-Malik) al-Muʿazzam in the months of the year 611 (=1214-15). (Van Berchem *ZDPV*, *MuN*, 1903: 54 = *Opera Minora*, 1:332)

Six years later in another inscription commemorating the building of a tower (*burj*) in Ṣalkhad, his own fief, he is again mentioned as *ustād dār* (in this particular spelling). The inscription reads as follows:

(١) [أ-]ر بعمارة هذا البرج المبارك القفير (٢) الى الله عزّ الدين ايبك استاددار الملك المعظم
(٣) [عيسى ب-]ن الملك العادل بولاية مملوك [ه- ٤] قيصر سنة سبع عشر وستمئة

Has ordered the building of this blessed tower the needy for Allah ʿIzz ad-Dīn Aybak, major-domo of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil under the supervision of his mamlūk Qayṣar in the year 617 (=1220-21). (*RCEA*, 10:169, no. 3844)

It should be noted that this inscription as well as the previous one from ʿAjlūn are devoid of any honorific titles and adjectives. Only the minimal official titles are mentioned even when the sultan himself is mentioned. (See also his inscription from Iʿnak. *RCEA*, 11:100 n. 4153)

When al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā died (end 624/end 1226), and was succeeded by his

son an-Nāṣir Dāwud, Aybak became the regent in Damascus and headed the whole administration, but lost this position when al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Mūsā b. al-ʿĀdil took Damascus away from an-Nāṣir Dāwud in 626/1228-9. He did continue to keep Ṣarkhad, but eventually lost his position and his freedom when aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb of Egypt, suspecting his loyalty, arrested and imprisoned him in Cairo (644/1246), in the custody of the eunuch (*ṭawāshī*) Ṣawāb (Ibn Khallikān, *vol. cit.*, 494. On the term *ṭawāshī* for eunuch see Ayalon, *op. cit.* 6, 262). He died in confinement in 646/1248, and his remains were transferred for burial in Damascus.

Aybak was a great builder. Among his notable projects were the building or strengthening of a few fortresses including a “place” (*makān*) on Mount Tabor, four Ḥanafī academies, three in Damascus, and one in Jerusalem. He also built the desert fortress of Qalʿat al-Azraq as well as khāns and water reservoirs in Trans-Jordan. His enthusiasm for building was shared by his subordinates, notably by his own Mamlūk ʿĀlam ad-Dīn Qayṣar. (Ziriklī, 2: 33-34; *CIAP*, 2, *loc. cit.*)

L.7 and middle right and left faces: The mamlūk Shujāʿ ad-Dīn b. ʿAbdallah, who was also first generation Muslim and Mamlūk of al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, was in charge of the actual building work. I could not find any material about him.

19

Construction text—Khān al-ʿAqabah

About 628/1231-650/1252

A fragment of a slab of marble 0.61x0.37x0.14m. broken on all sides, found in Fīq and brought to the Museum in Katzrin. (Neg. No. 127009) I estimate that the fragment represents less than half of the original inscription. 3 visible lines, elaborate monumental Ayyūbid *naskhī*, in relief; a few points and vowels, and some ornamentation; lines divided by bands. It is very possible that the inscription was enclosed by frame the traces of which can be seen at the beginning of each one of the three lines of the surviving text. (Fig. 78)

[أمر بعمارة هذا] (١) الخان المبارك الأمير [الأجل؟.....علم] (٢) الدين سنجر البهيس
المعظمي..... (٣) [الملك] <المع> <ظم(?)> <خلد الله> ملكه في شهر ذ[ي القعدة/الحجة
من سنة....]

Has ordered the reconstruction of this blessed khān the (most illustrious) amīr (‘Alam) ad-Dīn Sanjar, The Lion, Mamlūk of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam (during the time of al-Malik) al-Mu‘azzam may allah perpetuate his reign in the month of Dhū (al-Qa‘dah/al-Hijjah of the year...)

In what follows I shall make an attempt, which, naturally involves some guesswork, to reconstruct this inscription and to draw some conclusion concerning its originator. The original inscription consisted of 4 lines. The first line was lost; what remained are the beginnings of lines 2,3,4, containing about half of their original text.

In line 3, which is partly defaced, I think that I can read the word *al-Mu‘azzam* or *al-Mu‘azzamī*, and more confidently the words *khallada allah mulkahu*.

Based on this I offer the following reconstruction of the inscription:

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَمْرٌ بِتَجْدِيدِ عِمَارَةِ هَذَا (2) الْخَانِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْأَمِيرِ [الْأَجَلِ
الْإِسْفَهْسَلَارِ الْكَبِيرِ ... عِلْم] (3) الدِّينِ سَنْجَرَ الْبَهَيْسِ الْمَعْظَمِيِّ وَذَلِكَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا
الْمَعْظَمِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ فِي شَهْرِ ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ/الْحِجَّةِ مِنْ سَنَةِ ... وَعِشْرِينَ
وَسِتْمِائَةَ

Basmalah. Has ordered the renovation of this blessed khān the most illustrious amīr the great commander, the... (three or four words of glorification), ‘Alam ad-Dīn Sanjar “The Lion,” the mamlūk of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, and this (took place) during the time of our master the sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, may Allah perpetuate his reign in the month of Dhū al-Qa‘dah (or Dhū al-Hijjah) of the year 620-24/1224-27.

According to my estimation each line contained about 48 characters except the first line, with the *Basmala*, which is usually spread out, and therefore contained less characters. Line 2 in my reconstruction is 12 characters short of the maximum. These 12 characters could have been three honorific adjectives like *al-mujāhid*, *al-muthāghir al-mu‘ayyad* etc. (see above no. 18).

Line 3 in the reconstruction is 49 characters long, and line 4 is 48 characters. If the digits of the year 620 are added such as 621, 622... etc., this line could reach 50-51 characters which is not impossible taking into consideration the crowding of characters towards the end. However, I cannot see how another full name of a ruler can be added before the “al-Mu‘azzam” at the end of line 3 of the reconstruction (line 2 of the original). Even without the minimal honorific titles and the name the line would have to be much longer.

It is possible, however that all the lines were longer, by at least another 20 characters. In such a case it is possible to add to the first line (of the fragment) a series of honorific titles and adjectives; the second line could then

contain a name of the son of al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, and line 3 of the reconstruction (2 of the original) will have to read:

(3) الدين سنجر البهيس المعظمي وذلك في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين داود بن الملك

This means a line of 70 characters four times the length of the surviving text. If it were so the inscription would leave the mamlūk ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanjar with a long list of honorific titles and adjectives depriving his masters of even one of them. Moreover, this will give us an inscription of almost 2.50m long, which seems highly improbable. We have therefore to be content with the more modest reconstruction that leaves us with an inscription of about 1.50m. long the larger of the two major ones commemorating the building of the khān.

If my reading of the word “al-Muʿazzam” at the beginning of the last line is correct, than the date of the inscription could be from his time; this means that it cannot be later than 624. If we stretch the inscription to the time of ʿĪsā’s son an-Nāṣir Dāwud, then it could not be later than 626.

Unfortunately we know very little about the builder. He is mentioned only once in a rather late source, Abd al-Qādir an-Nuʿaymī (died 927/1521), in connection with a *madrasah* which he built in Damascus.

المدرسة العلمية. شرقي جبل الصالحية وغربي الميطورية. قال عز الدين الحلبي: بانيتها الأمير علم الدين سنجر المعظمي في شهور سنة ثمان وعشرين وستمائة. انتهى. ولم يذكره الصفدي في تاريخه ...

The ʿIlmiyyah religious college, situated to the east of Jabal aṣ-Ṣālihiyyah and to the west of al-Maytūriyyah. ʿIzz ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 666/1267. *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 5: 323) said: “Its builder was the amīr ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanjar al-Muʿazzamī in the months of the year 628.” Ṣafadī (696/1296-97–764/1362-63) did not mention him in his book of biographies (*al-wāfi bi-al-wafayāt*, in spite of mentioning many personalities by the name of ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanjar). (Nuʿaymī, 1, 1988:558)

There is another ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanjar al-Ghatmī al-Muʿazzamī, (الامير علم الدين) (سنجر الغتمي المعظمي) who was active in the Egyptian politics particularly in connection with the events that led to the capture of the Egyptian throne by Qutuz (657/1259). This one should not be mixed up with ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanjar of this inscription who was active in Syria one generation earlier. (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nuḡūm*, 7:73; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziadeh, 1(2):418; Beirut, ed. ʿAṭā, 1, 1997:508)

The project of the khān at Fīq was executed, most probably by two Syrian

amīrs both of them Mamlūks of Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, and both of them were active in the various stages of the building work in his time.

It is clear from all three inscriptions, which represent the same type of script (the last being somewhat more elaborate), that the building of Khān al-‘Aqabah was a long process. The first stage was supervised by the sultan’s major-domo, and was continued by ‘Alam ad-Dīn Sanjar. The building of the khān and the tower that defended it, using local hard basalt ashlar, could well have stretched over 20 years. However, once constructed it was active for centuries. Judging by its remains it was a land mark and luxurious station on the way to Damascus and the Ḥawrān; at least judging by the fact, mentioned above, that on 24 February 1384, a welcoming party headed by the Governor of Damascus went as far as the Khān to welcome the newly appointed chief Qādī of the city.

L.2: *al-bahīs*. This is a strange word, which I have never encountered before. In all my attempts to read it I found that the present reading is the most meaningful. I may of course be completely mistaken. According to Zamakhsharī’s, *al-Fā’iq fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa-al-Athar*, the word *al-bahīs* is one of the names of the lion. Another reading is *bahnas*, which means also lion (*al-Muḥīt*, s.v. B-H-S). It is possible that this name was given to Sanjar after his Turkish name.

20

Fragment of a construction text

Middle 7th/13th c. (?)

A block basalt 0.72x0.30m. broken on top, right and left sides. One line, and remnants of another one; beautiful, monumental late Ayyūbid early Mamlūk script, large letters, points and vowels. Kept in the Katztrn Museum. (Neg. no. 127069. Fig. 79)

..... وذلك قي شهر جمادى (٢ remnants of a few words Lower...(١

...and this (took place) on the month of Jumādā the first (?) the second (?)

This was definitely a large monumental inscription. It could well have originated in the khān. The fragment does not enable even guesswork. It is possible that the fragment reproduced in fig. 80 (0.40x0.19m.) was part of it.

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PLATES

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Fig. Add. 1. Ashqelon/‘Asqalān 1133/1721 – (or) 1173/1759-60 (Courtesy IAA)



Fig. Add. 1a. ‘Akkā – Epitaph of a Muslim 1224/1809



Fig. Add. 2. Burayr c. 9th/15th century



Fig. 1. Dabbūriyya 610/1214



Fig. 1a. Dabbūriyya 610/1214

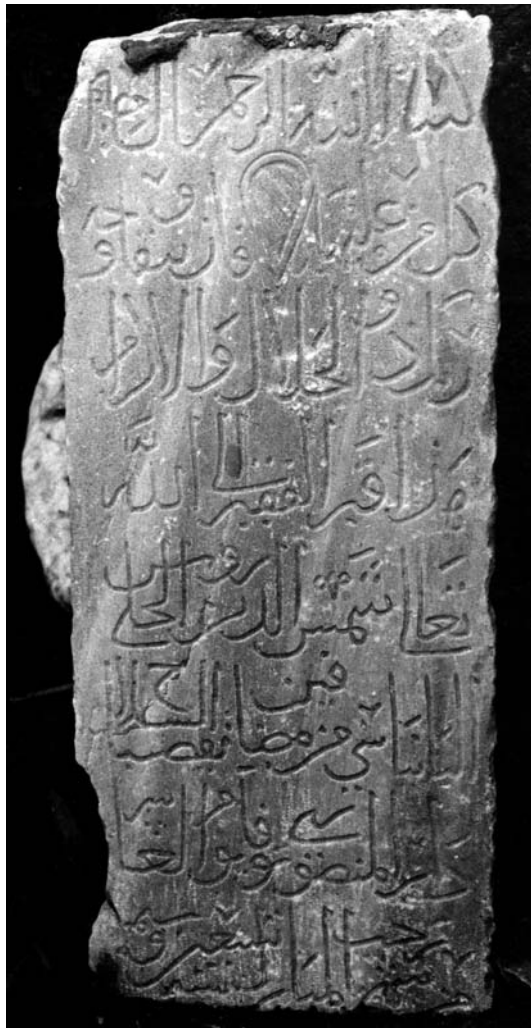


Fig. 2. Dayr al-Balaḥ 690/1291

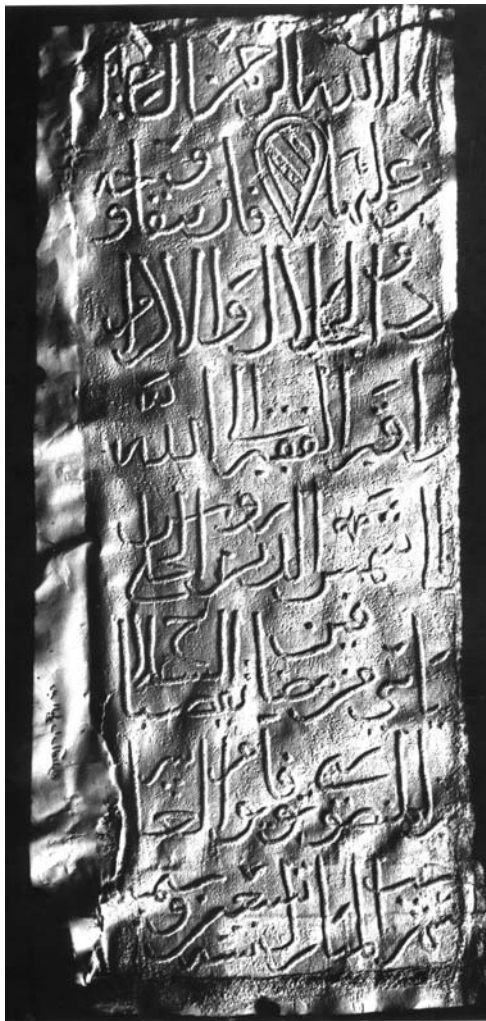


Fig. 2a. Dayr al-Balaḥ 690/1291
(Photo courtesy IAA)

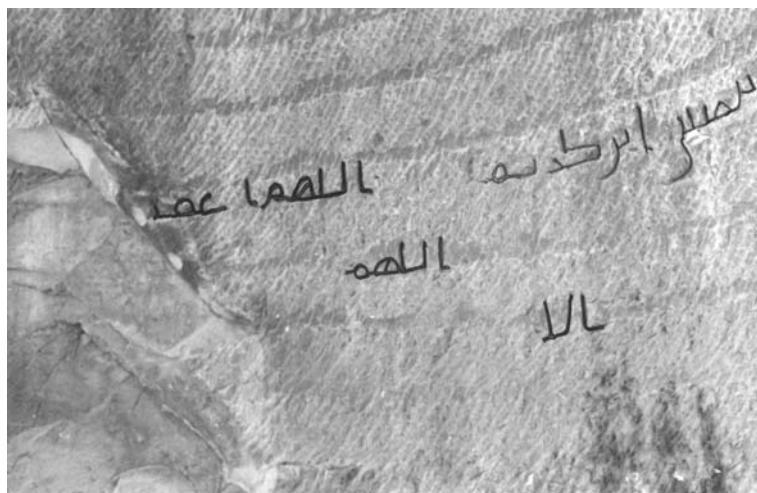


Fig. 3. Dayr Dubbān. Cave 3. Inscriptions and parts of inscriptions
1,2,3,4,5.

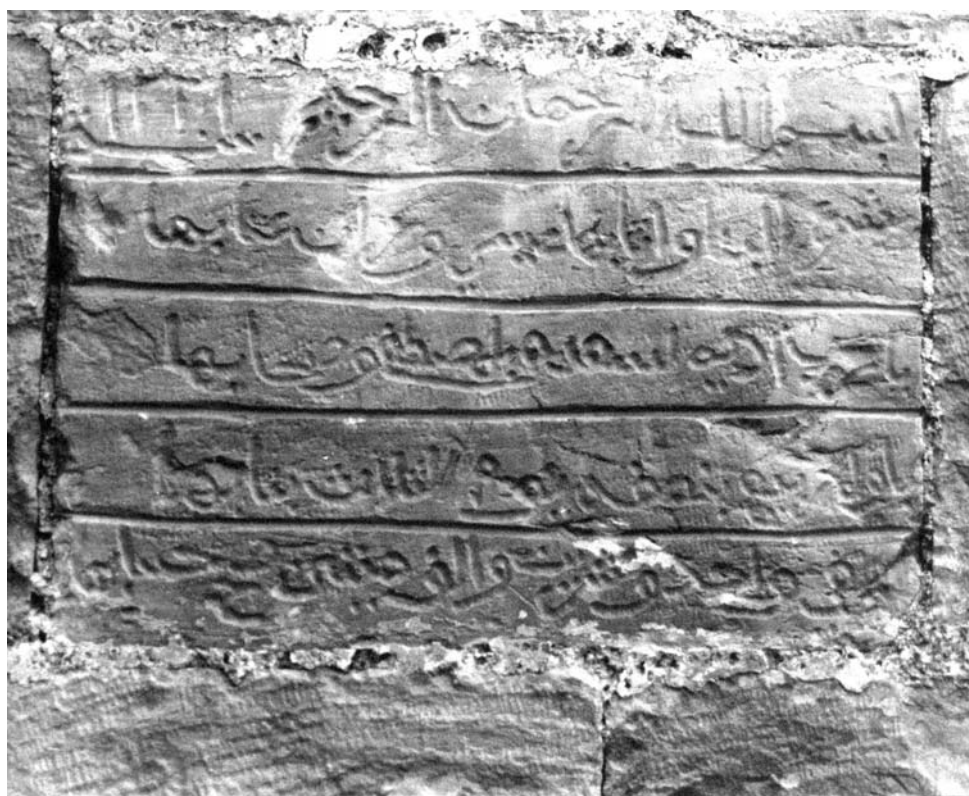


Fig. 4. Dayr Ghassānah 2 1221/1806



Fig. 5. Dayr Ghassānah 3 1279/1862-3



Fig. 6. Dayr Ghassānah 4 1278/1861-2(?)

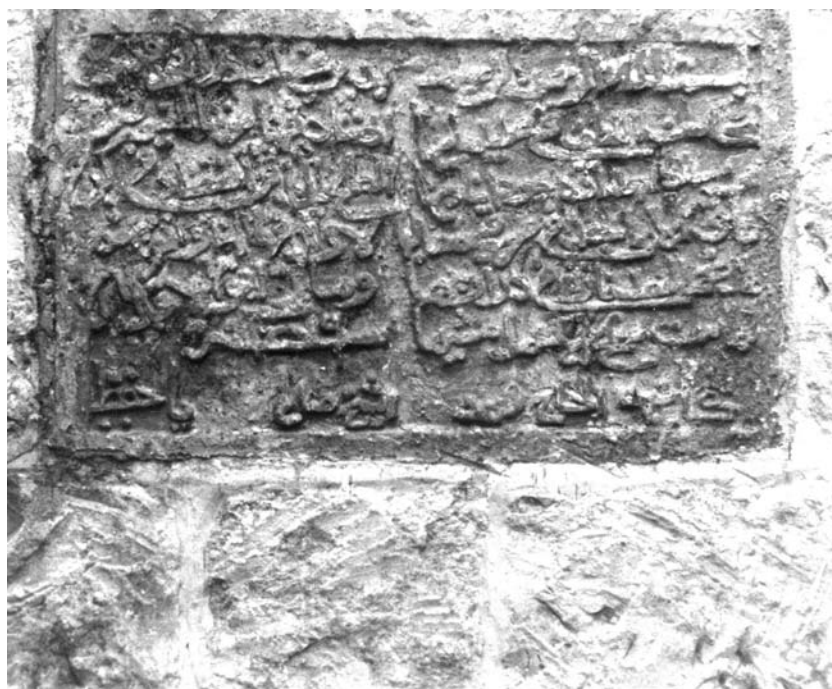


Fig. 7. Dayr Ghassānah 5 1275/1858-9



Fig. 8. Dayr Ghassānah (?) 1 731/1330-31



Fig. 9. Dayr Istiyā 1 1145/1732-3



Fig. 10. Dayr Istiyā 1 1145/1732-3 (Photo 1941. Courtesy IAA)



Fig. 11. Dayr Istiyā 2. 1310/1892



Fig. 12A. Dayr Istiyā 2.



Fig. 12B. Dayr Istiyā 2.



Fig. 13. Dayr Istiyā 2.



Fig. 14. Dayr Istiyā 3.



Fig. 15. Dayr Mār Jirjis (St. George) Milestone 65-86/685-705



Fig. 16. St. George's Monastery. Inscription on the gate (squeeze) (Photo courtesy IAA)

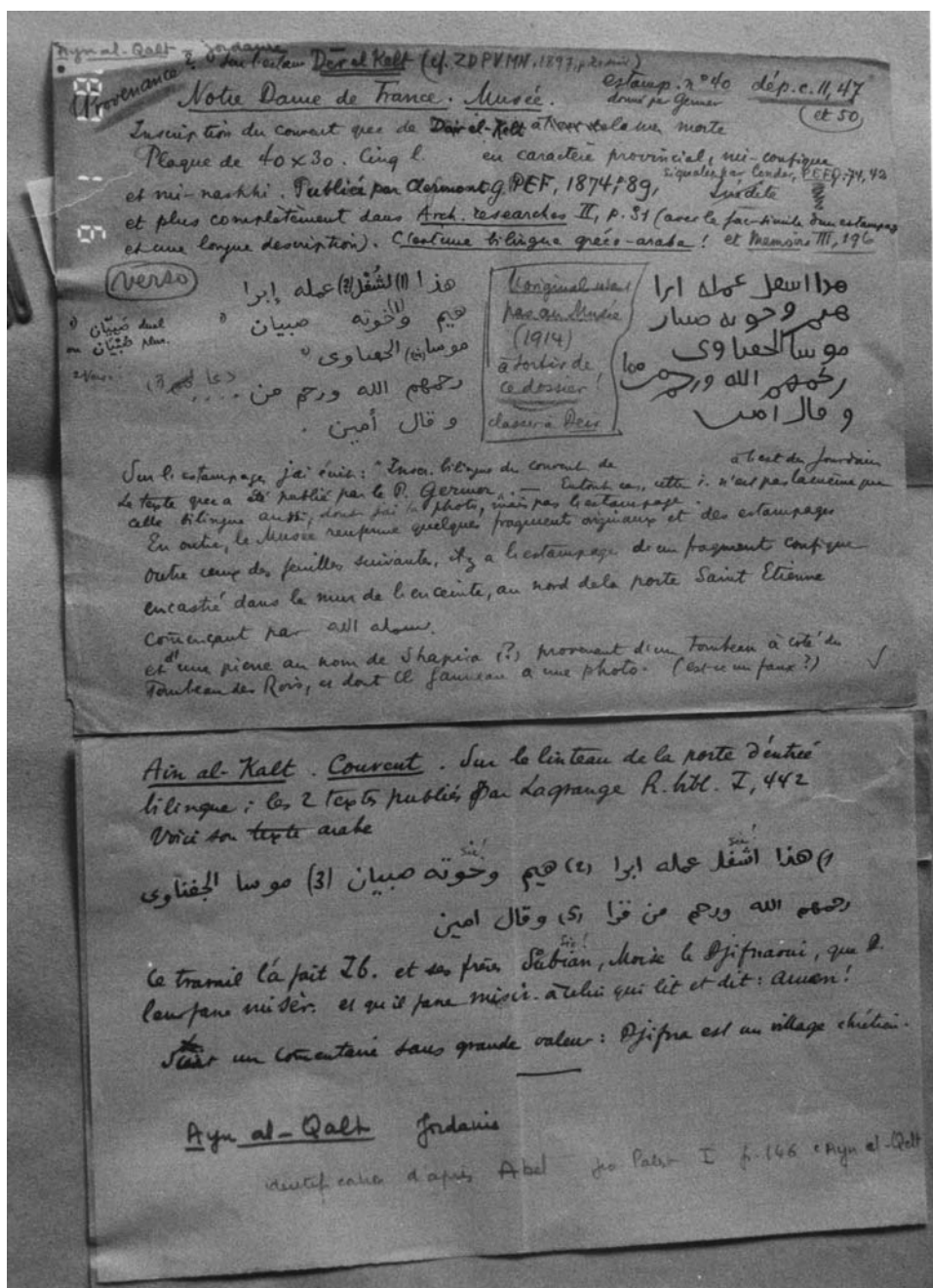


Fig. 17. Van Berchem's copy and notes of Inscription 3 from St. George's Monastery.
 (Photo courtesy Fondation Max van Berchem (Geneva))



Fig. 18. Dayr Mār Jiryis. Restoration of the aqueduct 1297 and 1130 (Photo courtesy Y. Ziv)



Fig. 19. Ramlah. Stamp of “Dayr Samwīl”.
(Dr. Papo’s collection, Ramlah)



Fig. 20. Ramlah. Stamp from Dayr Nabī Samwīl (Dr. Papo's collection). Copied: Pl. 1: Construction of Inscription



Fig. 21. Dayshūm



Fig. 21a+b. Dimra (first part) c. 767/1277 (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 21c. Dimrah (second part) c. 676/1277 (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 22. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)



Fig. 23. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)

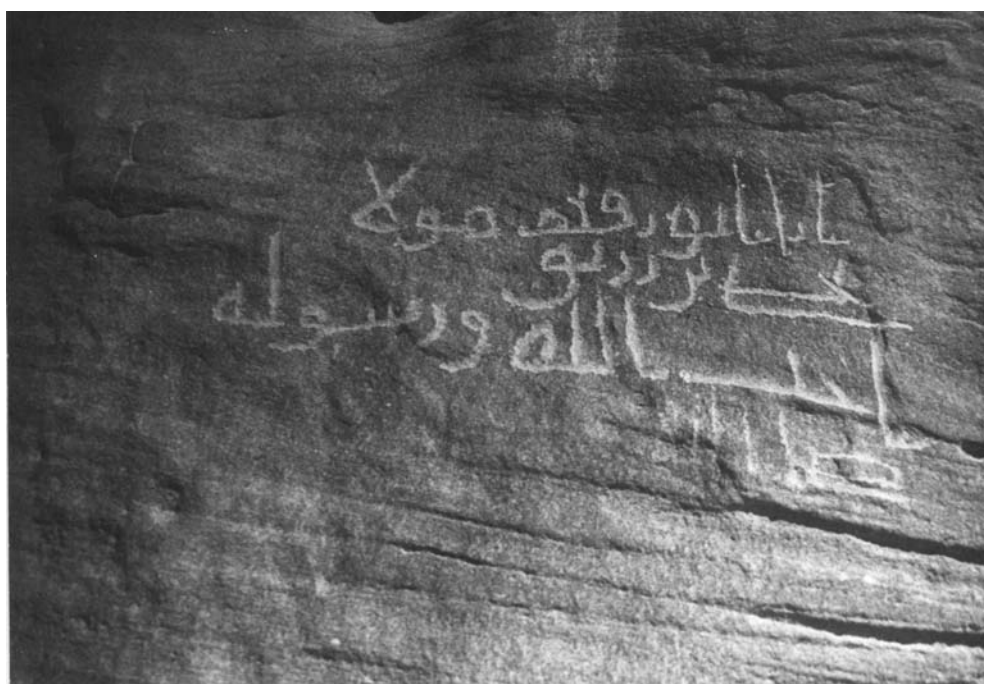


Fig. 24. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)



Fig. 25. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)



Fig. 26. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)

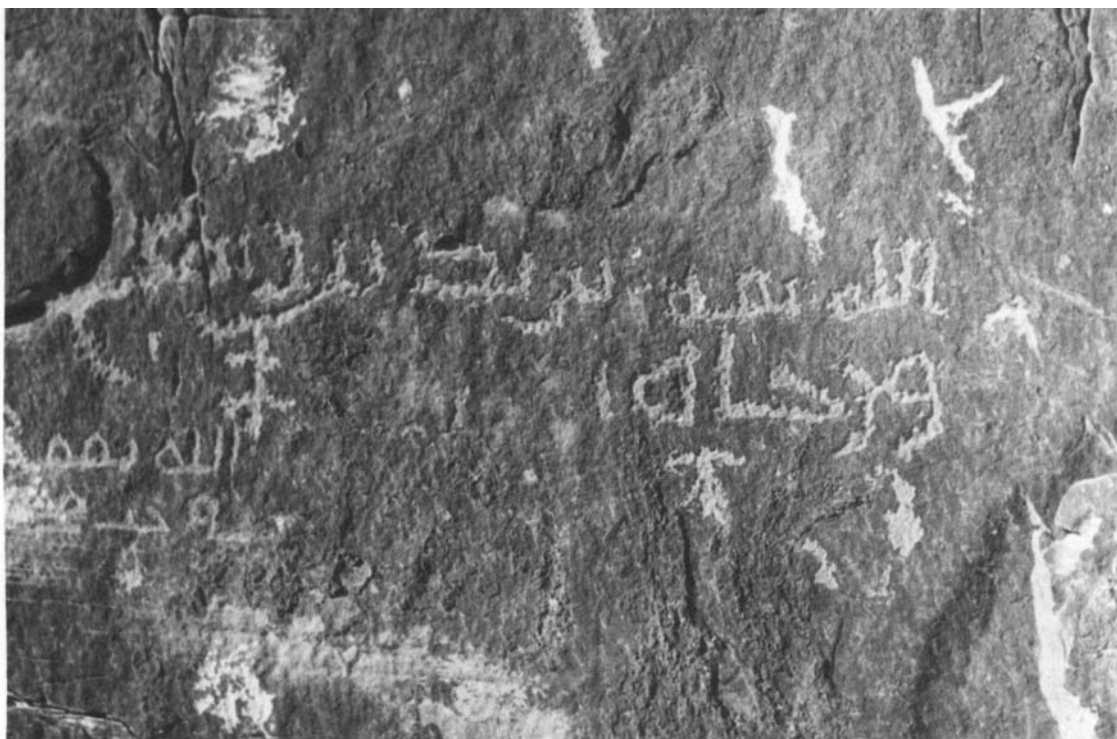


Fig. 27. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)



Fig. 28. Eilat-region (Photo courtesy Uzi Avner)

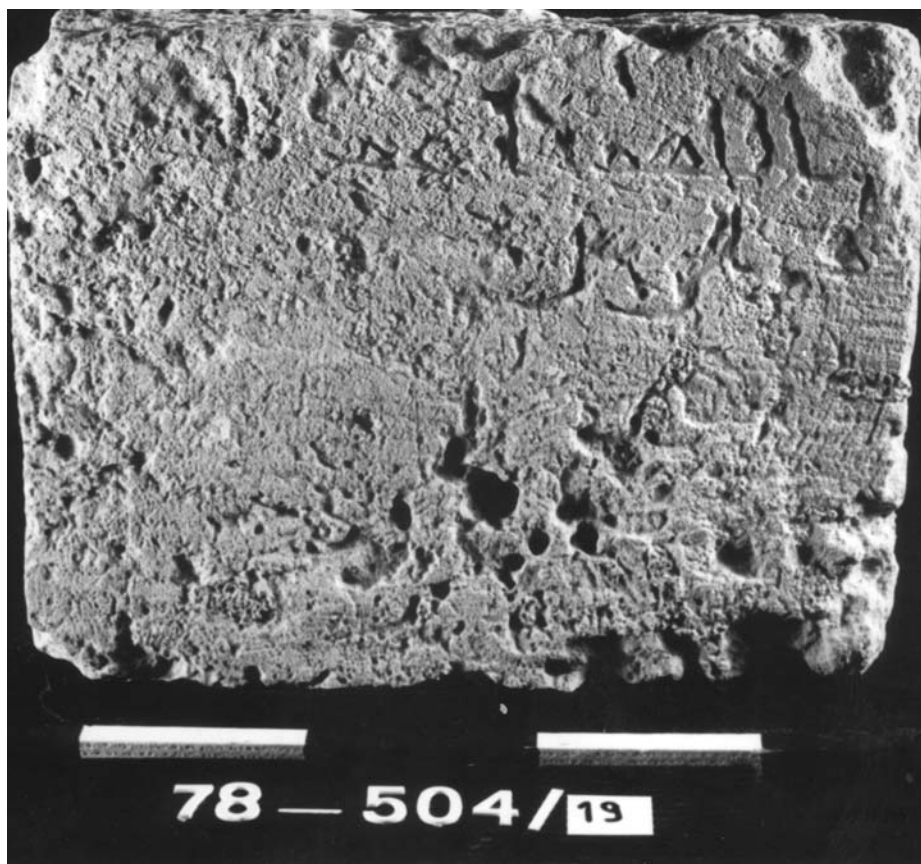


Fig. 29. 'Ein Zurayb, 1st/8th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)

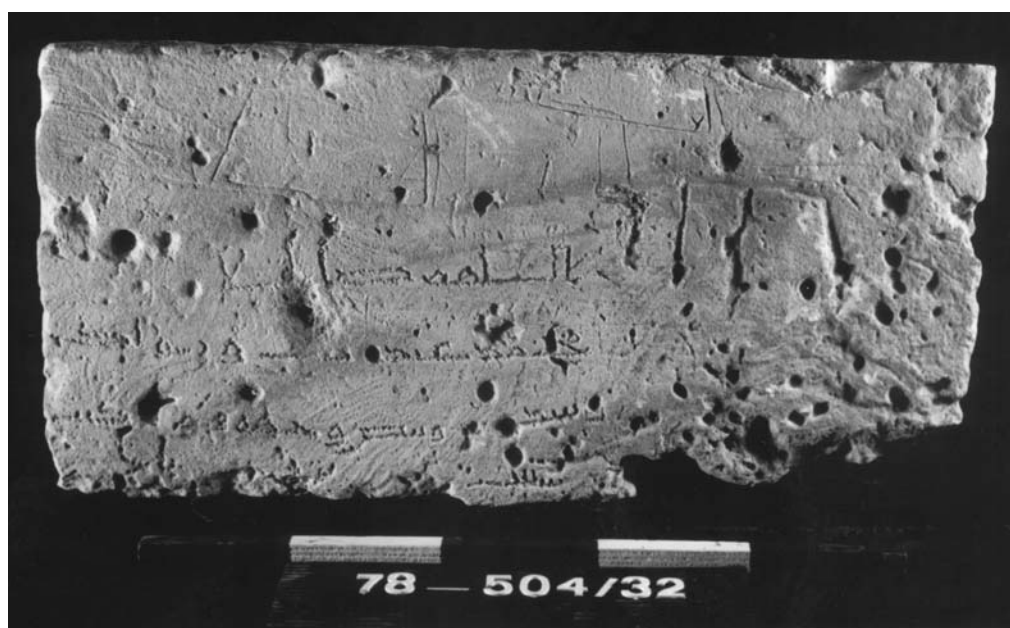


Fig. 30. 'Ein Zurayb, 1st/8th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)

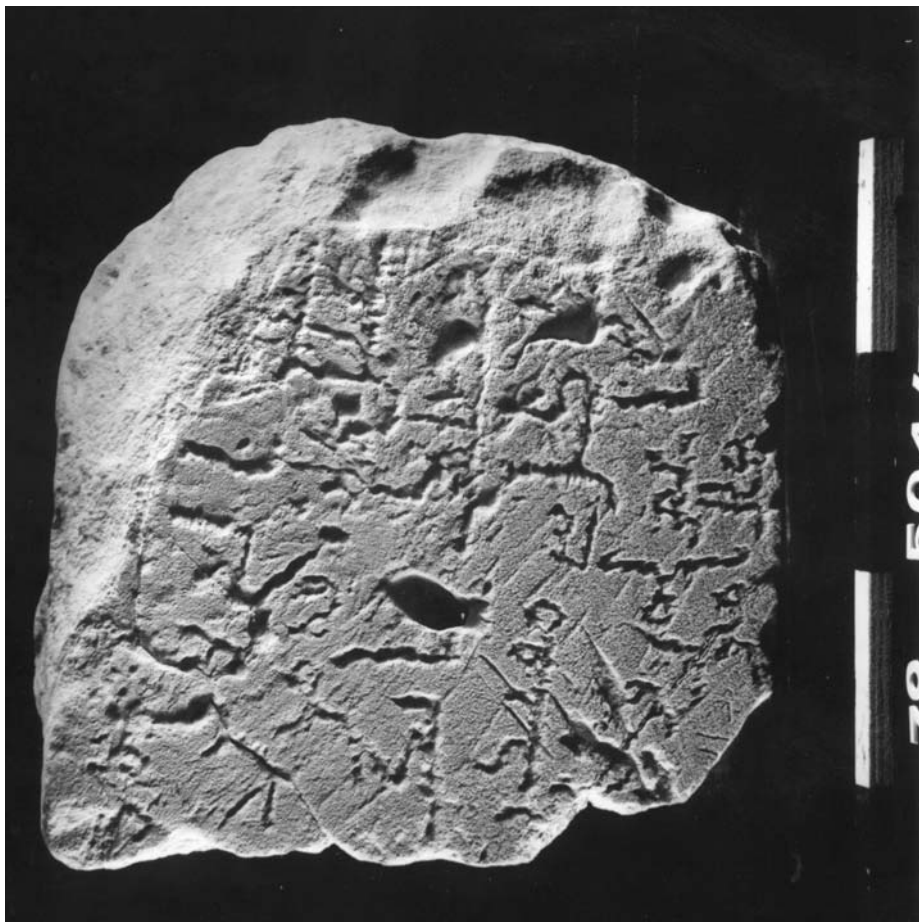


Fig. 31. 'Ein Zurayb, 1st/8th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 31a. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 32. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)

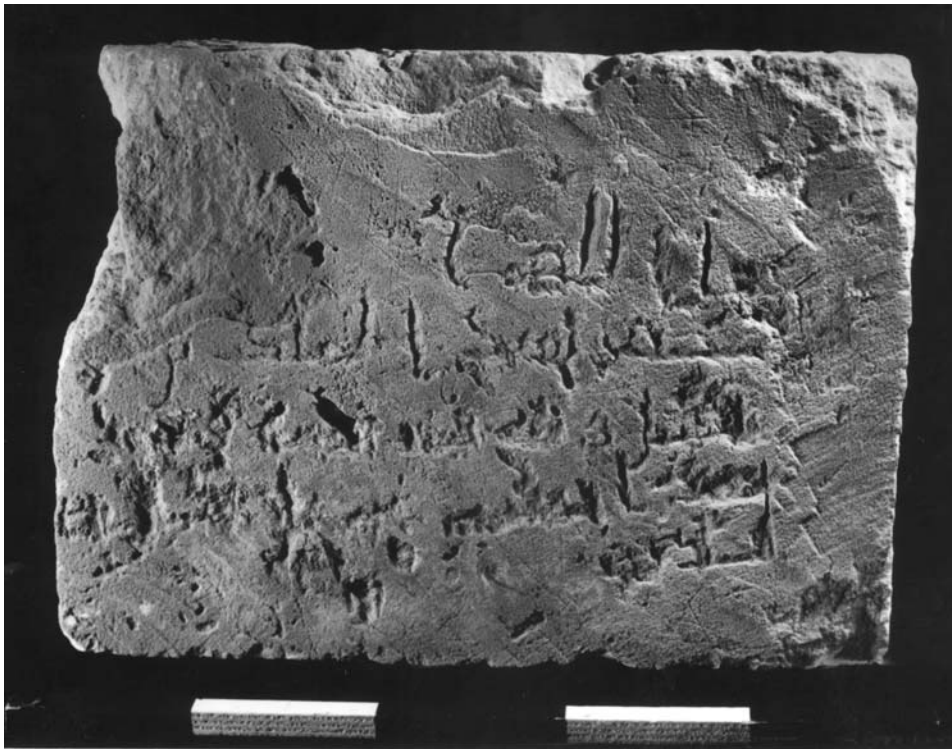


Fig. 33. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 34. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)

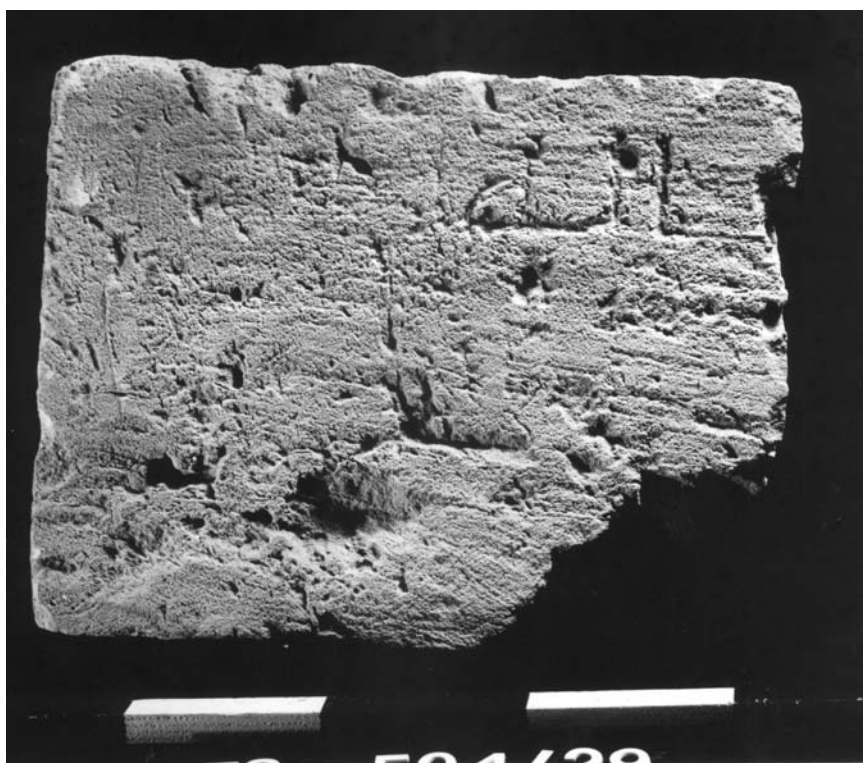


Fig. 35. 'Ein Zurayb. About 2nd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 36. 'Ein Zurayb, 2nd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 37. 'Ein Zurayb, 2nd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)

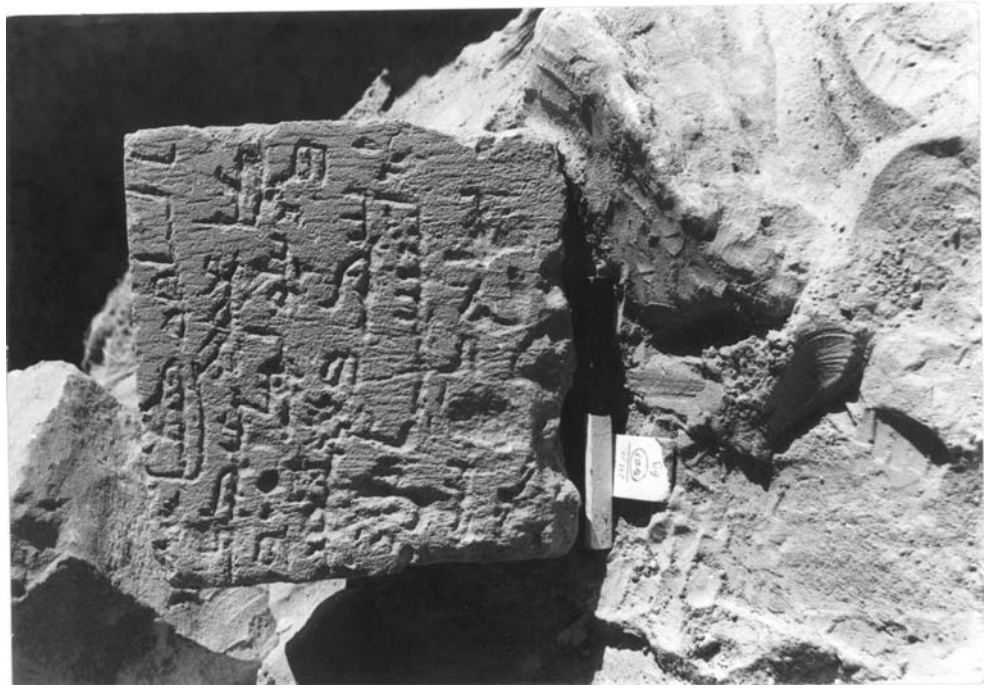


Fig. 38. 'Ein Zurayb, 2nd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)

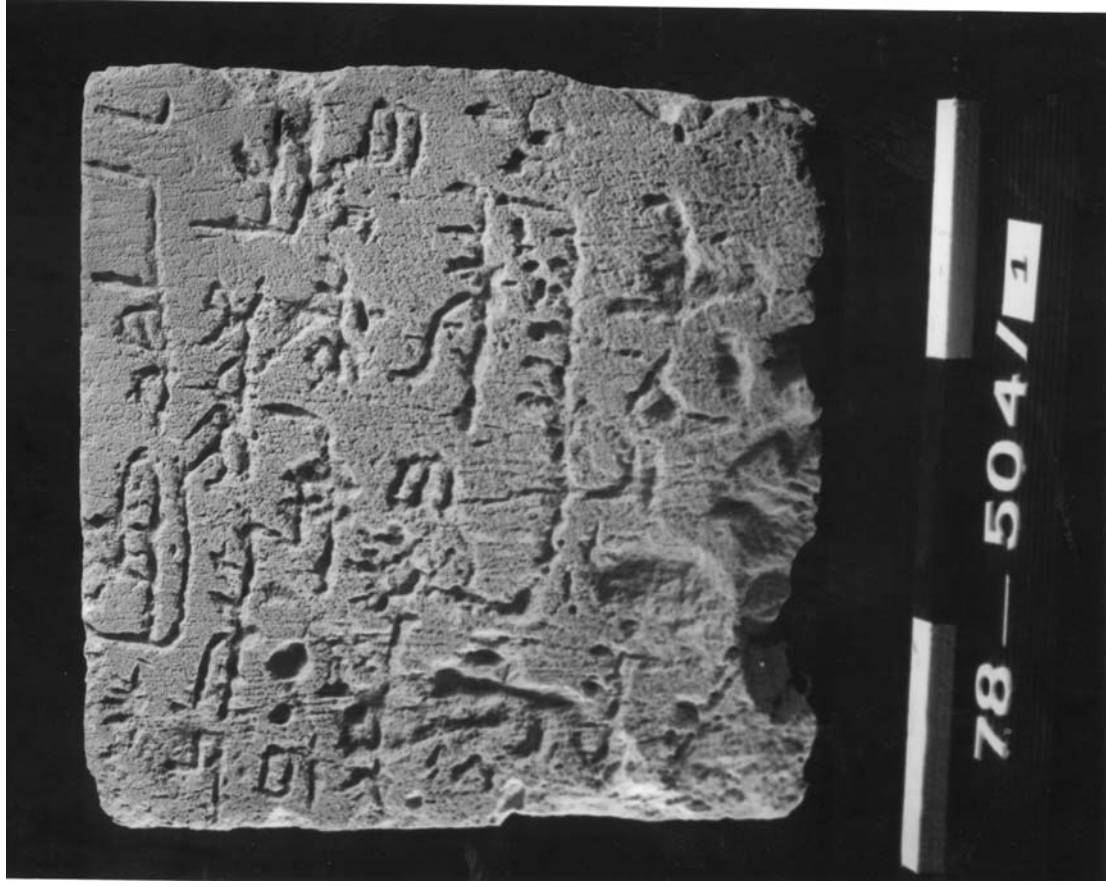


Fig. 39. 'Ein Zurayb, 3rd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)

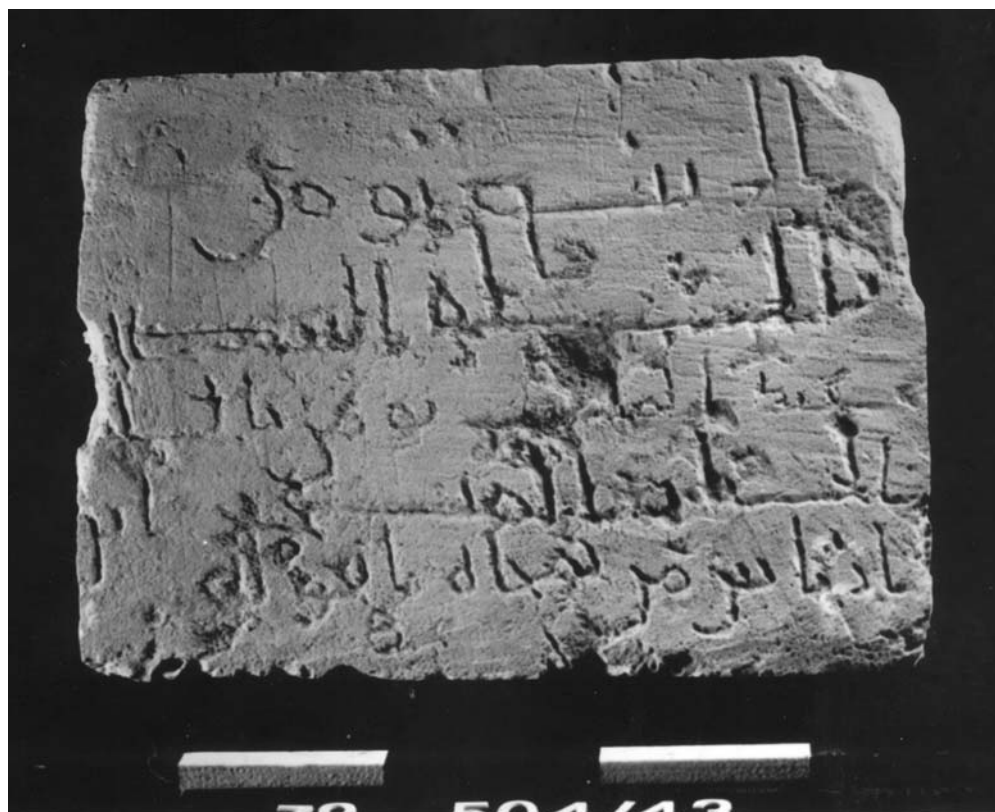


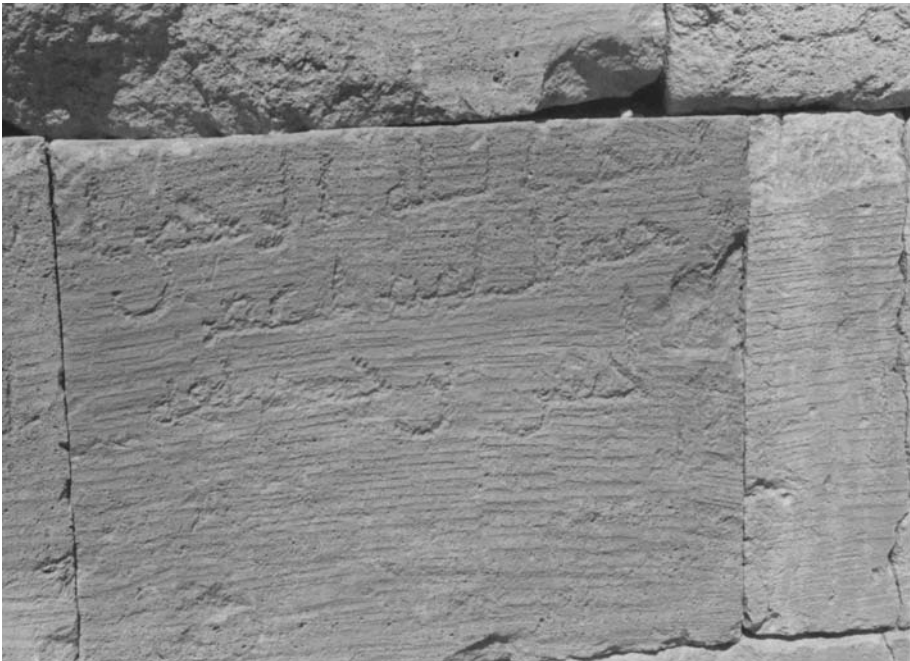
Fig. 39. 'Ein Zurayb, 3rd/9th c. (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 40. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



(*In situ*) Fig. 41. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



(*In situ*) Fig. 42. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 43. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 44. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 45. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 45. (Top) 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)

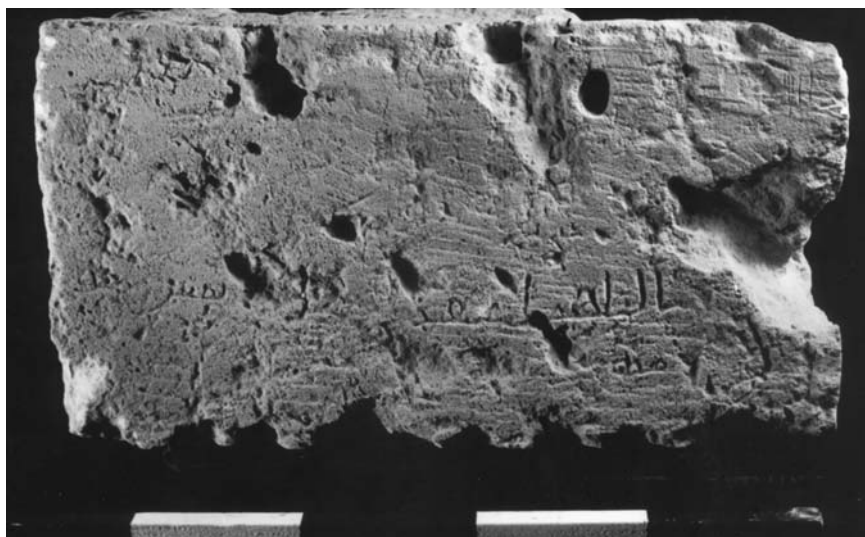


Fig. 46. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 47. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 47a. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo M. Sharon)



Fig. 48. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo M. Sharon)



Fig. 49. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo M. Sharon)



Fig. 50. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo M. Sharon)



Fig. 51. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo M. Sharon)



Fig. 52. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 53. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 54. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 55. 'Ein Zurayb (Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 57. Inscription from Rogem Şafir (Rujm Şfar)

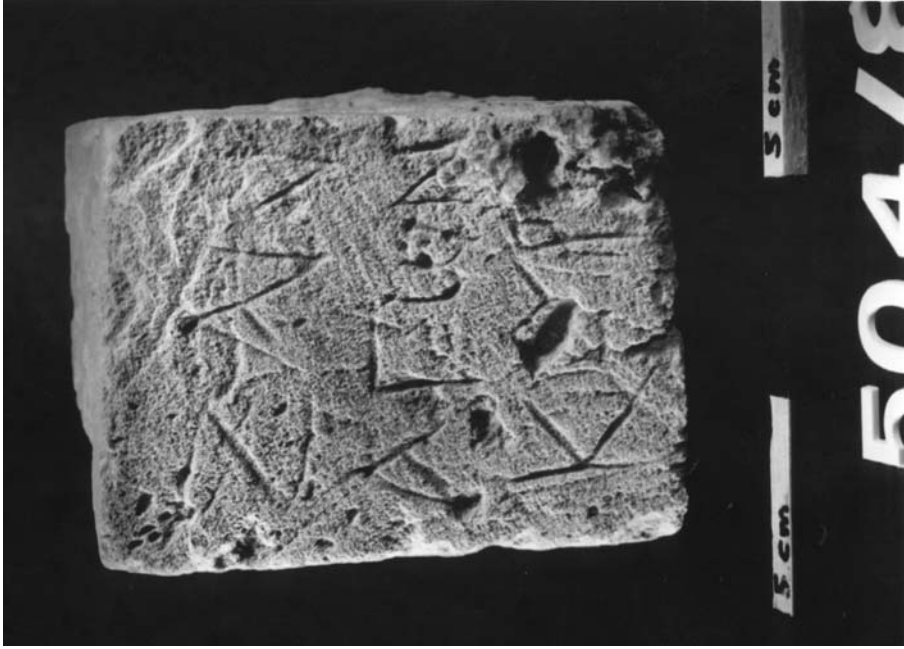


Fig. 56. 'Ein Zurayb. Fragment of a Greek Inscription
(Photo courtesy IAA)



Fig. 58. Farkhah 606/1210



Fig. 59. Faṣā'il 270/884-282/896

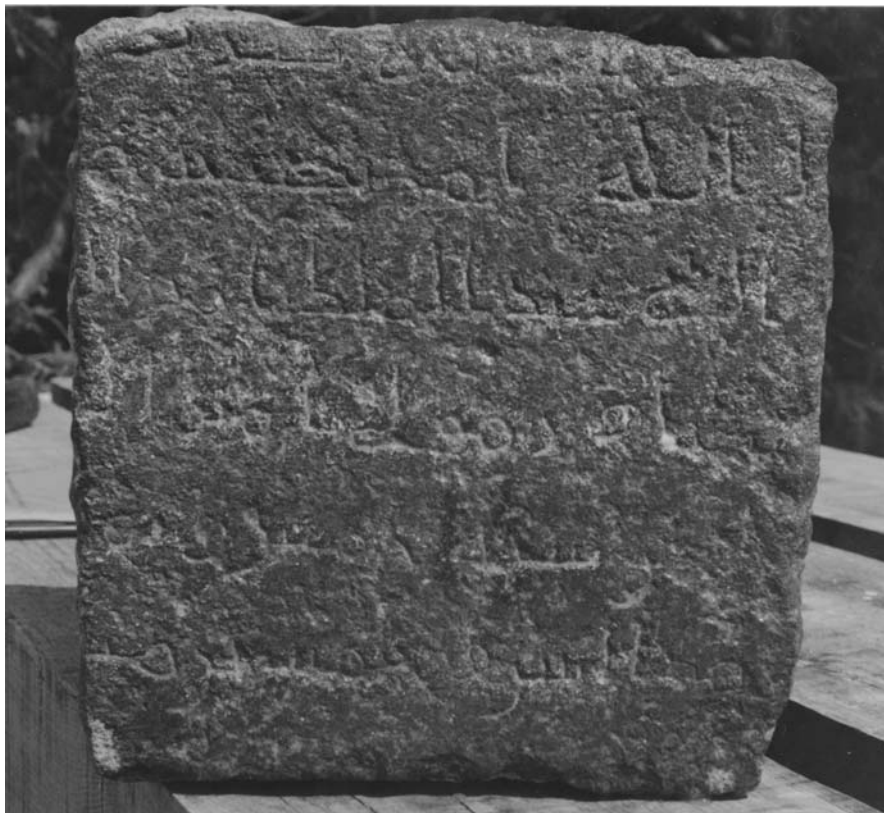


Fig. 60. Fiq milestone 1 85/704

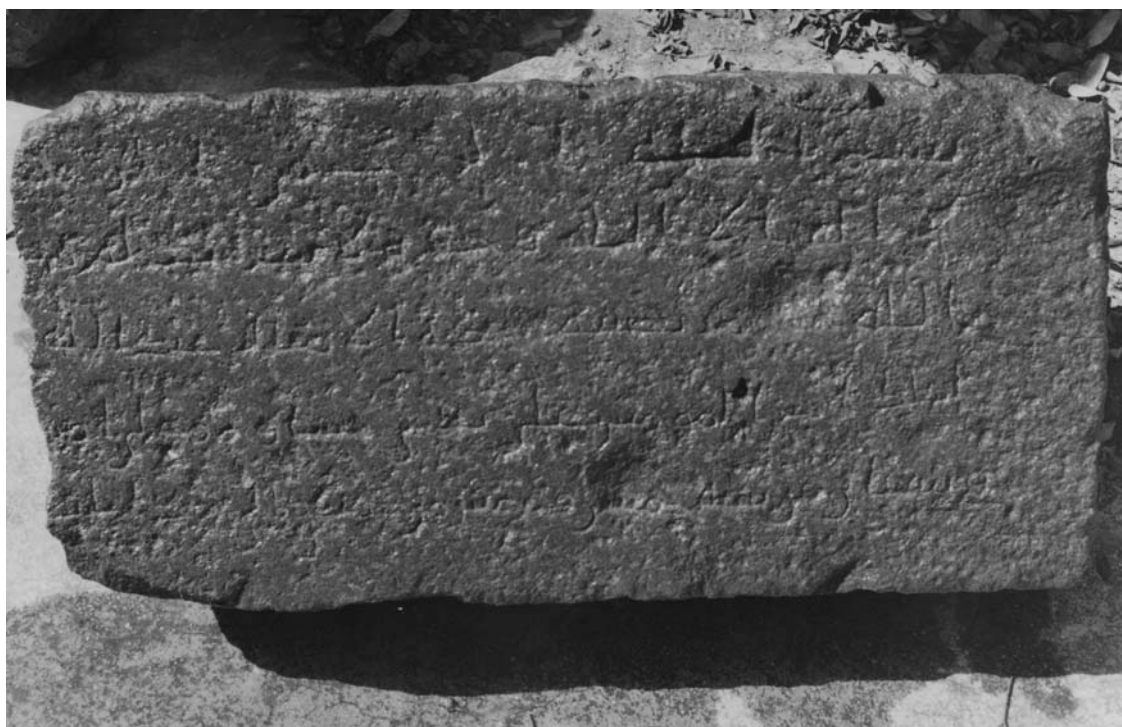


Fig. 61. Fiq milestone 2 85/704



Fig. 62. Fig – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 63. Fig – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 64. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 65. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 67. Fiq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)

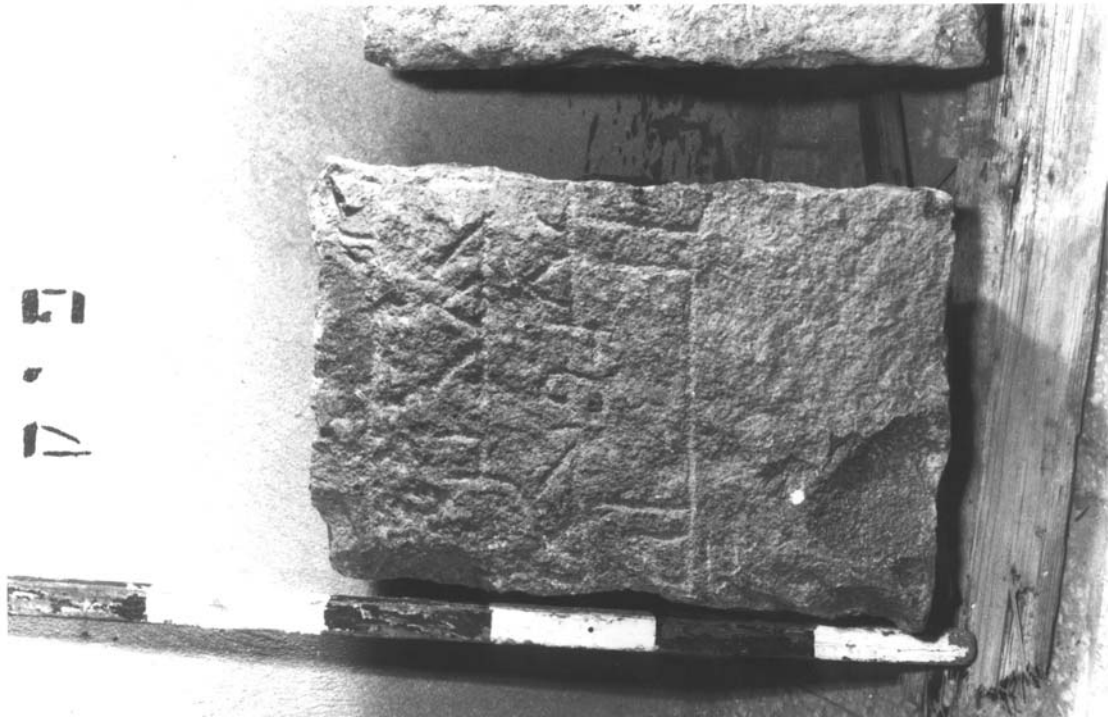


Fig. 66. Fiq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 68. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 69. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim woman (courtesy IAA)

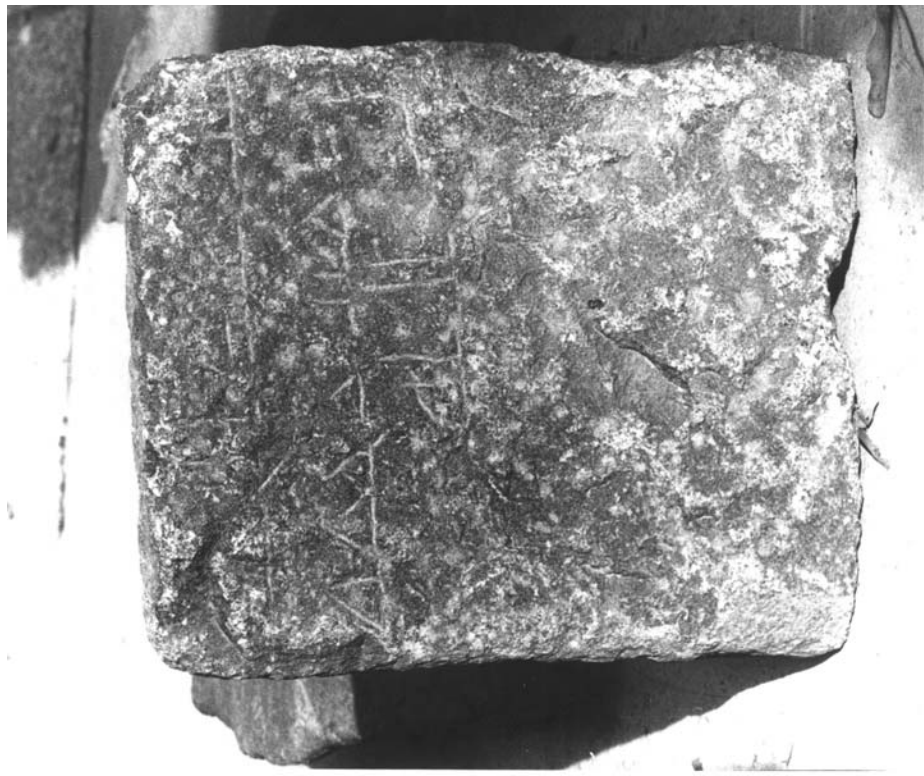


Fig. 70. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)

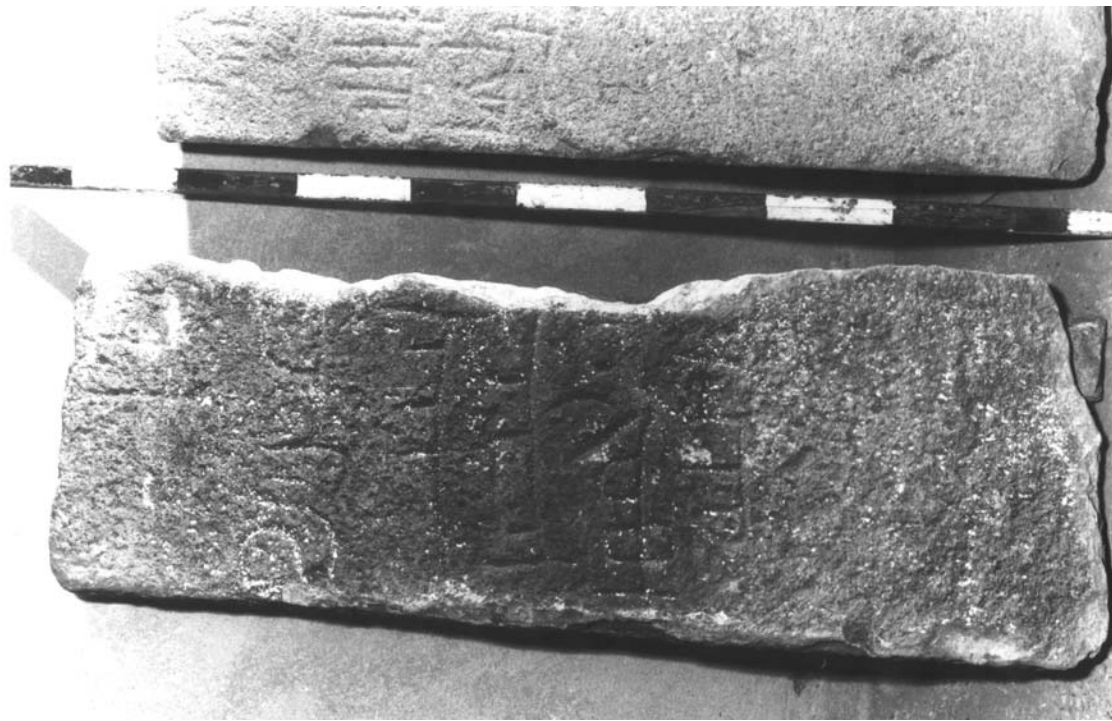


Fig. 71. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim woman (courtesy IAA)



Fig. 72. Fīq – Epitaph of a Muslim (courtesy IAA)

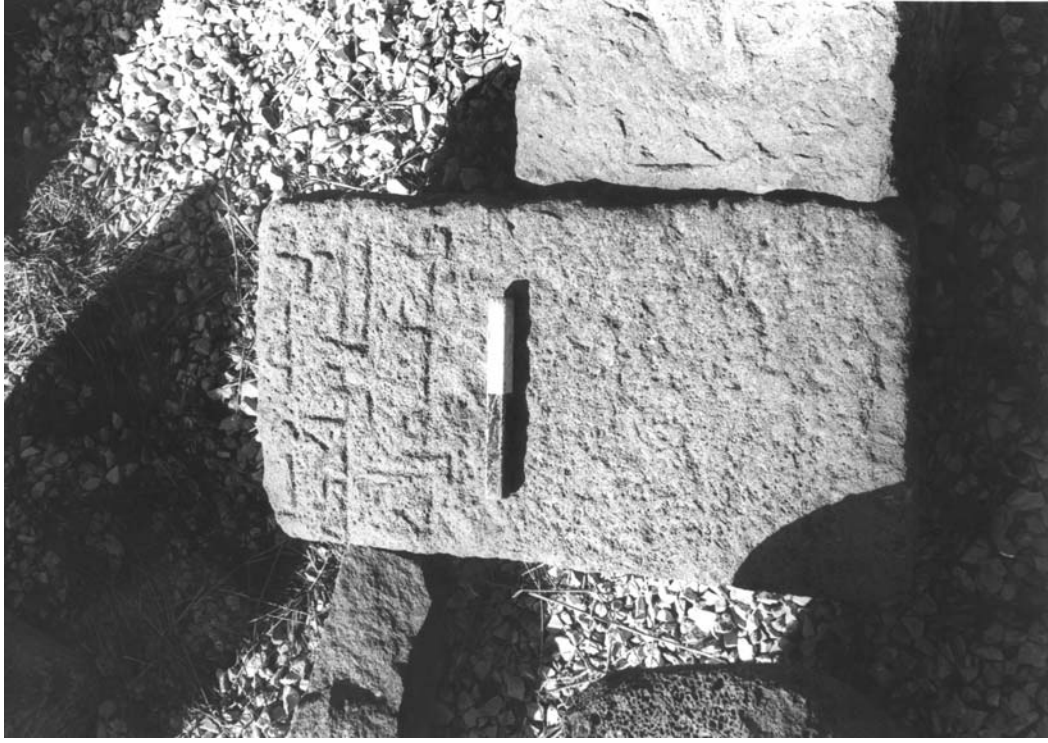


Fig. 73. Epitaph of a Muslim – Fīq



Fig. 74. Epitaph of a Muslim – Fīq



Fig. 75. Epitaph of a Muslim – Fīq

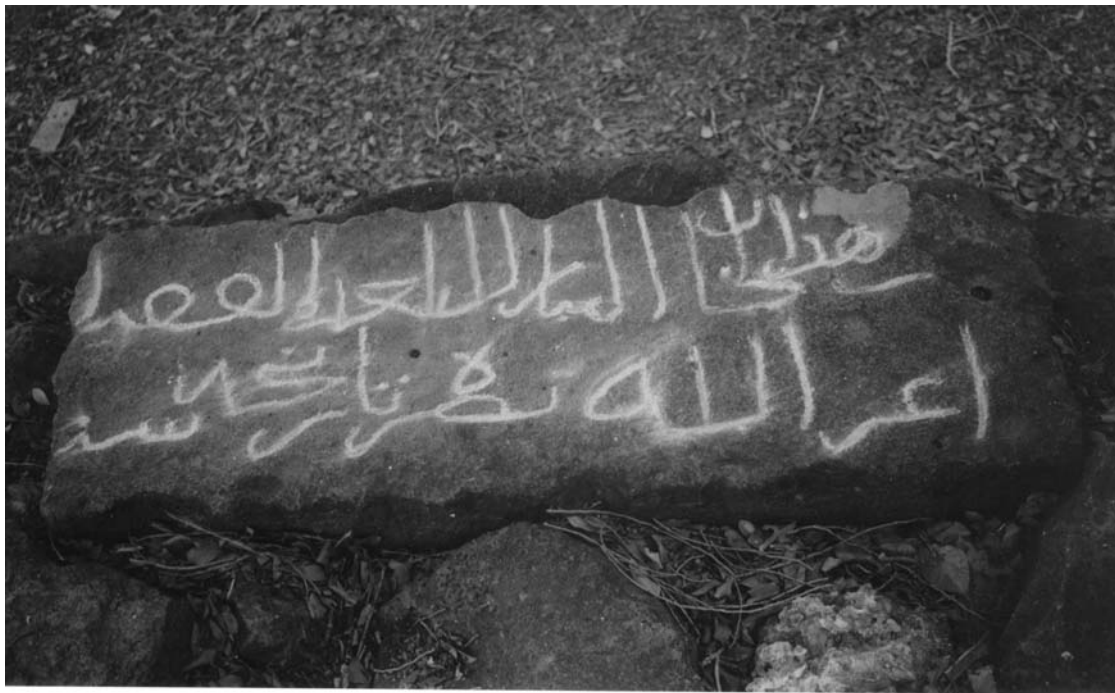


Fig. 76. Construction text – Khān al-‘Aqabah (?)



Fig. 76a. Construction text – Khān al-‘Aqabah (?)



Fig. 77. Construction text – Khān al-‘Aqabah (610/1213-14)



Fig. 78. Construction text – Khān al-‘Aqabah ?620.../1223...



Fig. 79. Construction text – Khān al-‘Aqabah? Middle 7th/13th c. (?)



Fig. 80. Khān al-‘Aqabah. Fragment (part of inscription No. 20)

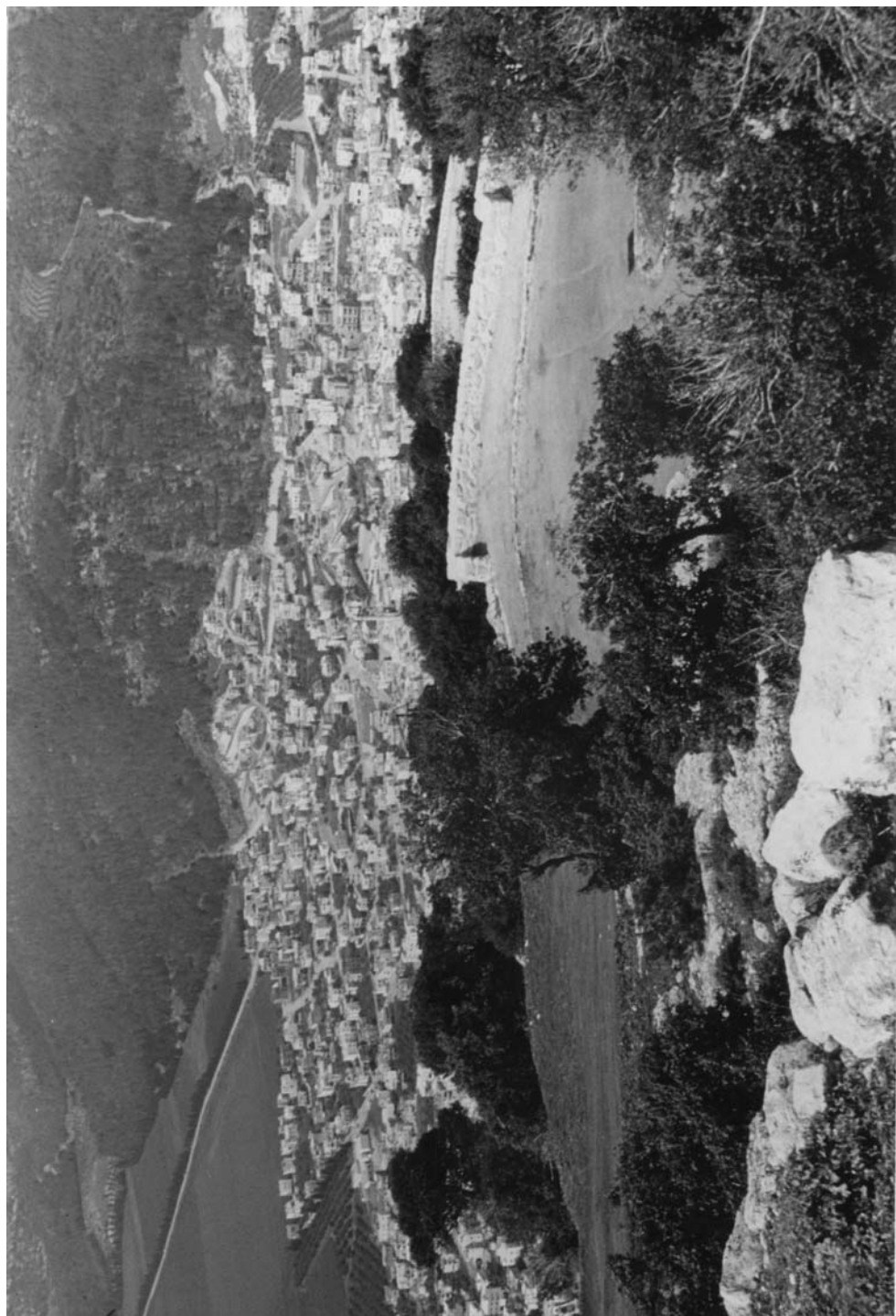


Fig. **P1**. Dabburiyyah from Mt. Tabor.



Fig. **P2**. Dayr Dubbān – a hole dug in the bedrock at the beginning of excavations.



Fig. **P3**. Dayr Dubbān. Entrance to the complex of caves.

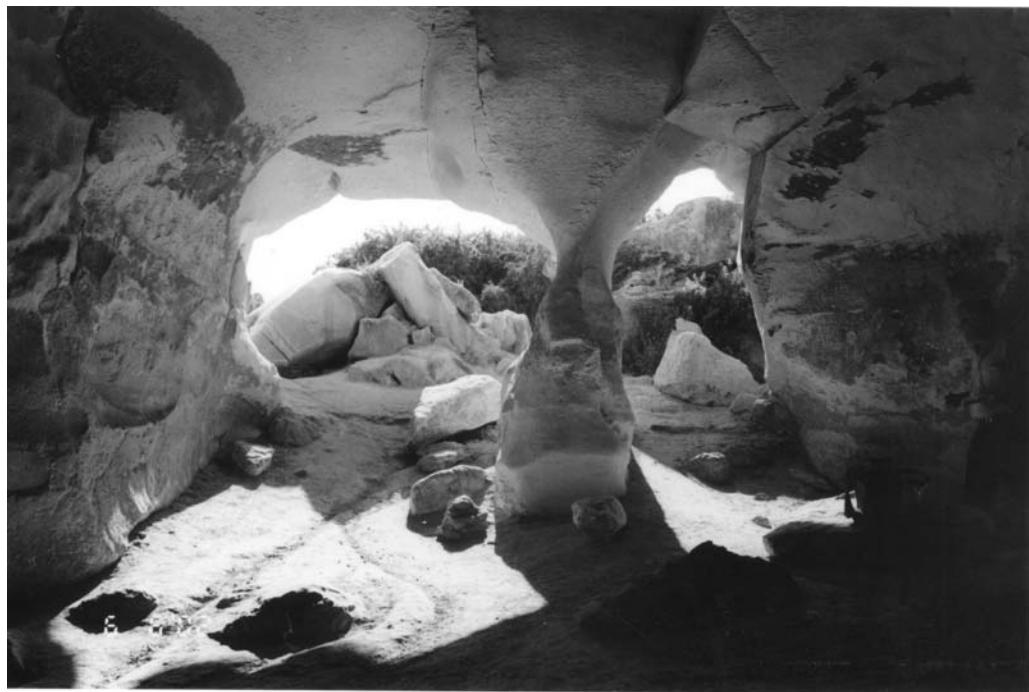


Fig. **P4**. Dayr Dubbān. Cave system. Caves open into each other and out.

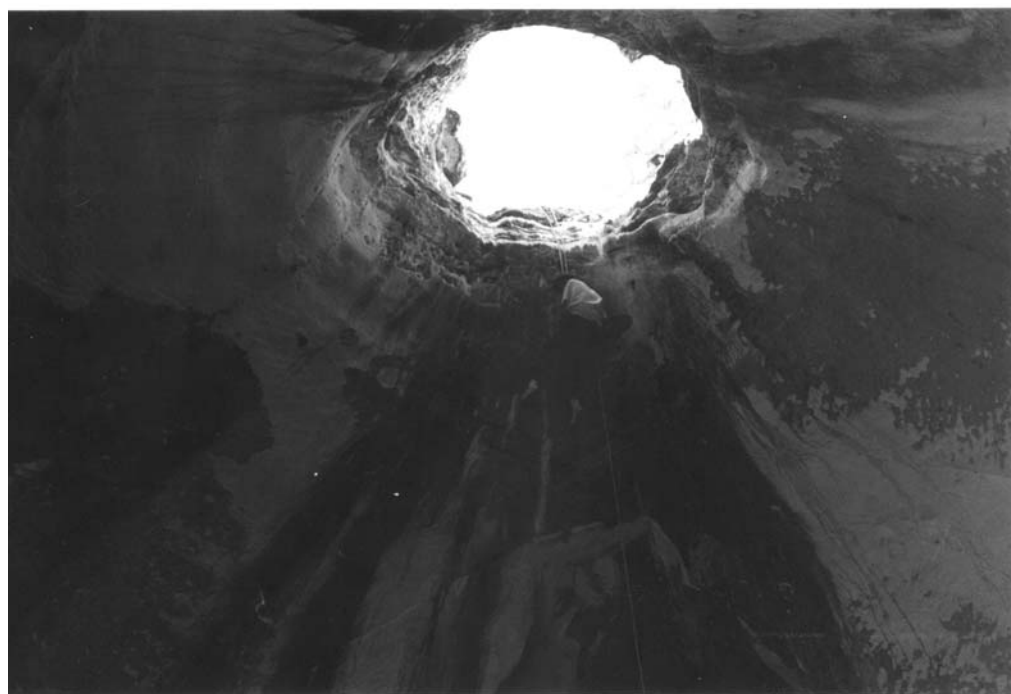


Fig. **P5**. Dayr Dubbān. Original hole at the top of the cave looking up.



Fig. P6. Dayr Dubbān Columbarium cave; niches for pigeons, and a monolith.

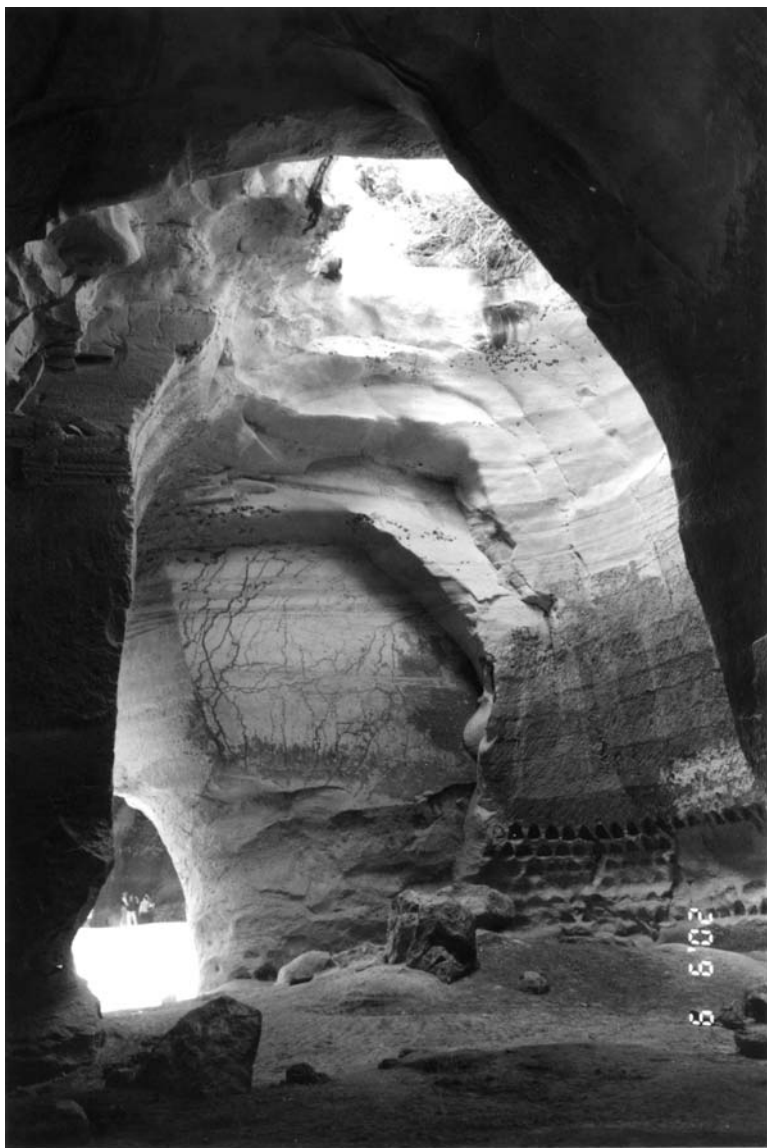


Fig. P7. Dayr Dubbān. Columbarium cave looking towards the broken wall and out.

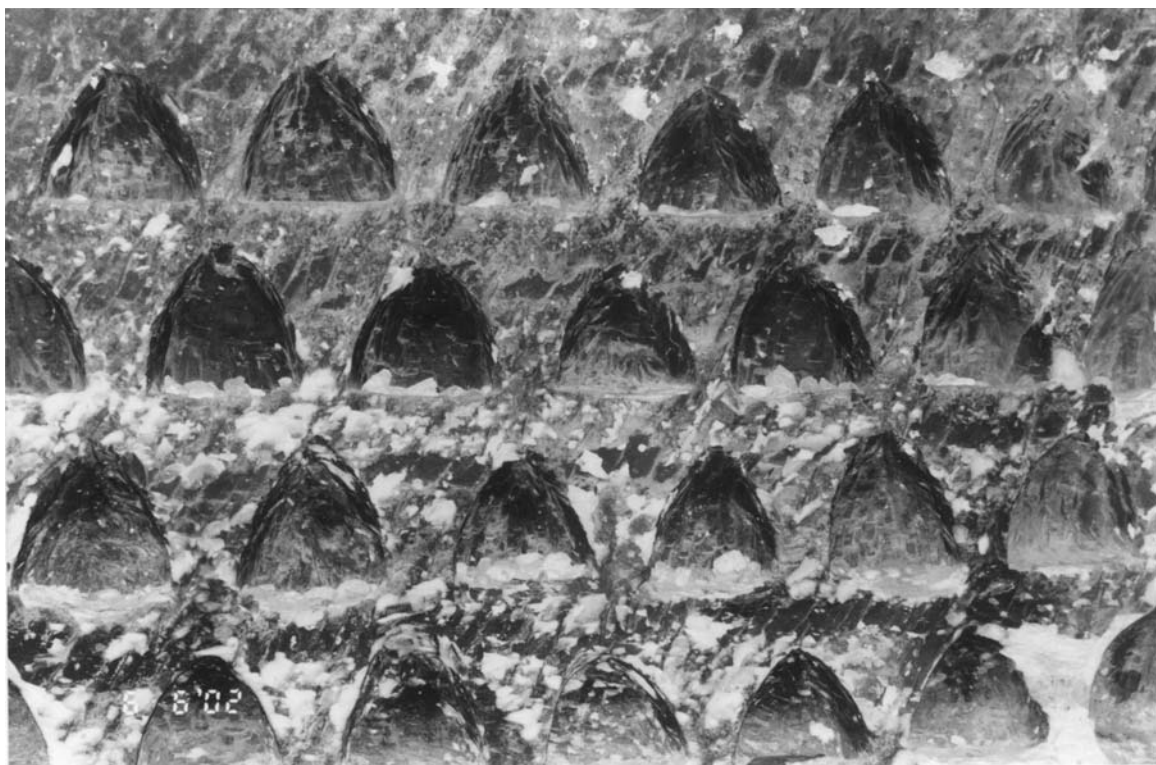


Fig. P8. Dayr Dubbān. Detail of niches – columbarium cave.

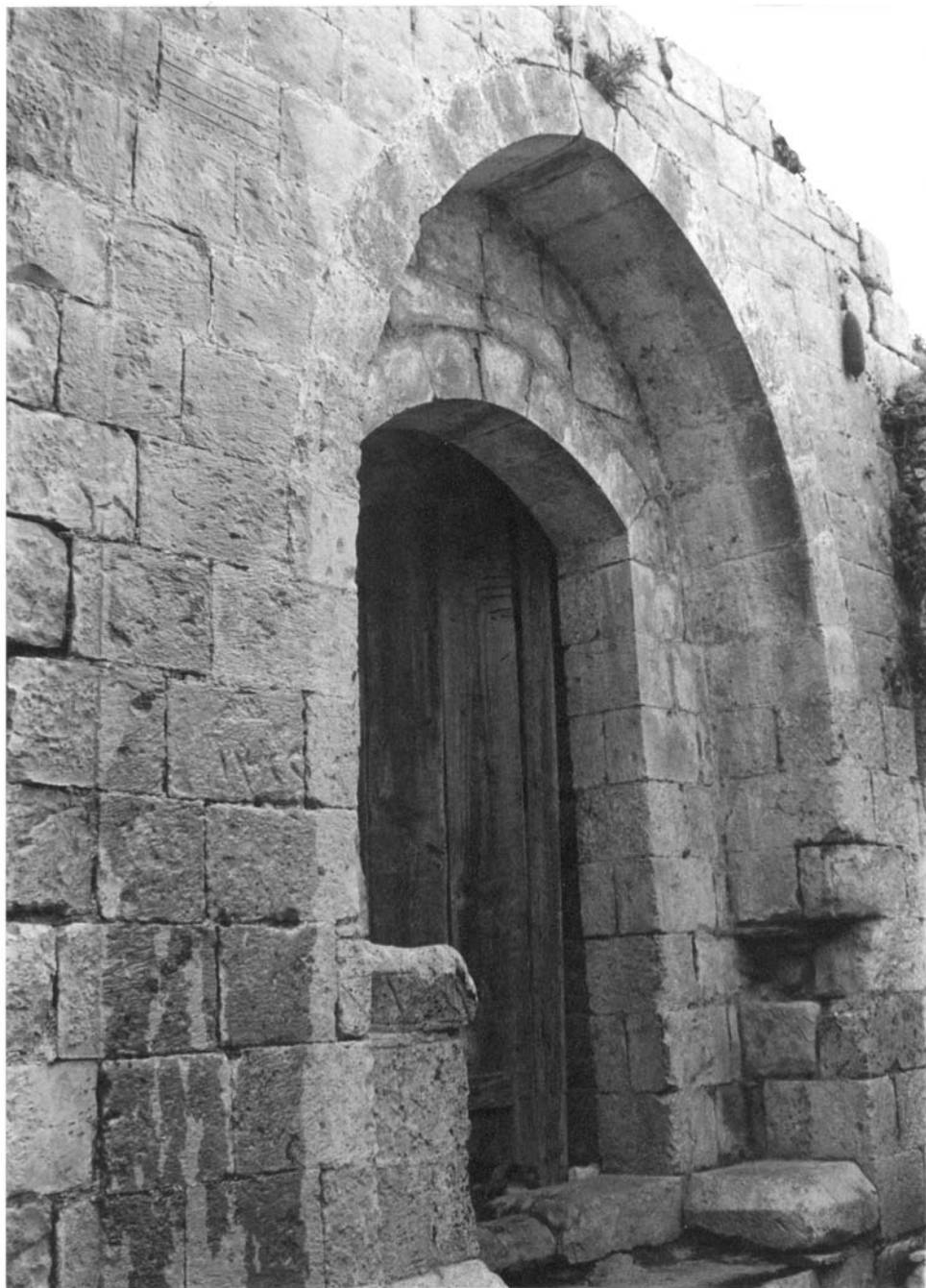


Fig. P9. Dayr Ghassānah. Gate to the house of Shaykh Rabāḥ. 1221/1806. Note inscription, top left.



Fig. P10. Dayr Ghassānah. Gate (*ablāq* style) to the Sarāyā of Shaykh Ṣālīḥ al-Barghūṭī (Photo courtesy IAA)

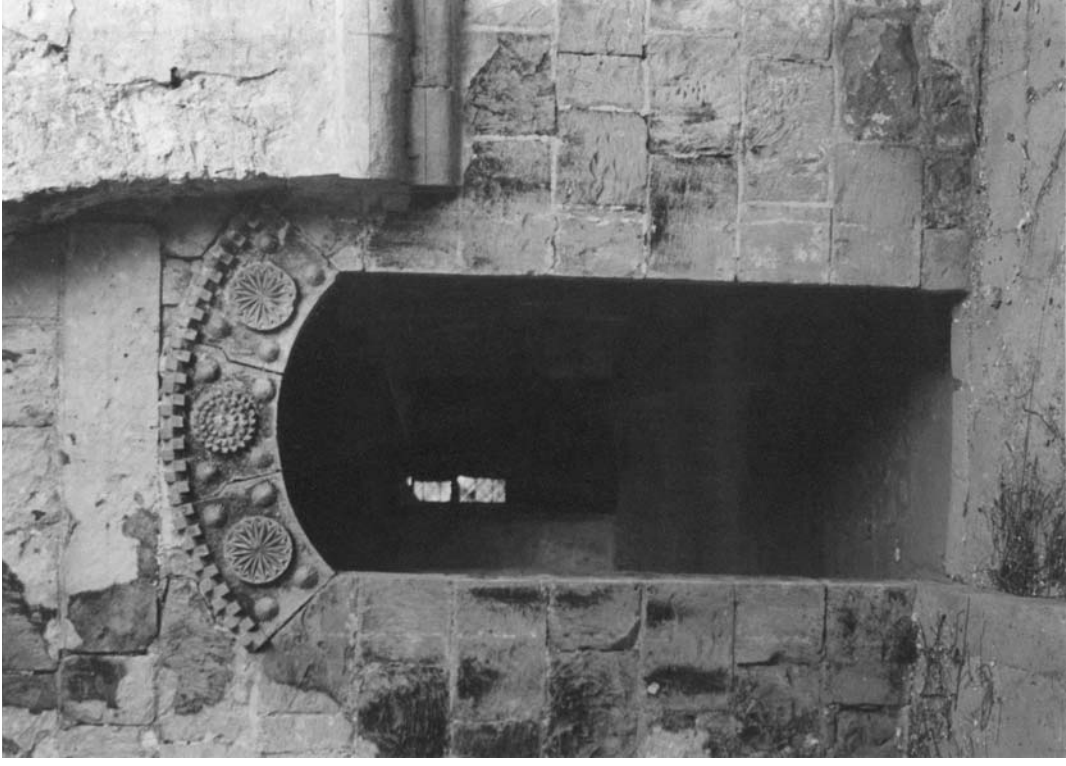


Fig. P11. Dayr Ghassānah. Sarāyā of Shaykh Ṣālīḥ al-Barghūṭī. Decorated Gate to one of the inner rooms.



Fig. P11a. Dayr Ghassānah. Sarāyā of Shaykh Šālīḥ al-Barghūṭī.
Decorated gate to one of the inner rooms 2nd floor.



Fig. P11b. The monastery of Dayr Ḥajalah (“St. Geresimus”).



Fig. P12. Dayr Ḥannā. Remnants of Zāhir al-‘Umar’s citadel.



Fig. **P13**. Dayr Istiyā. Inscription and decorations over the Gate to the Mosque (1941) (Photo courtesy IAA).

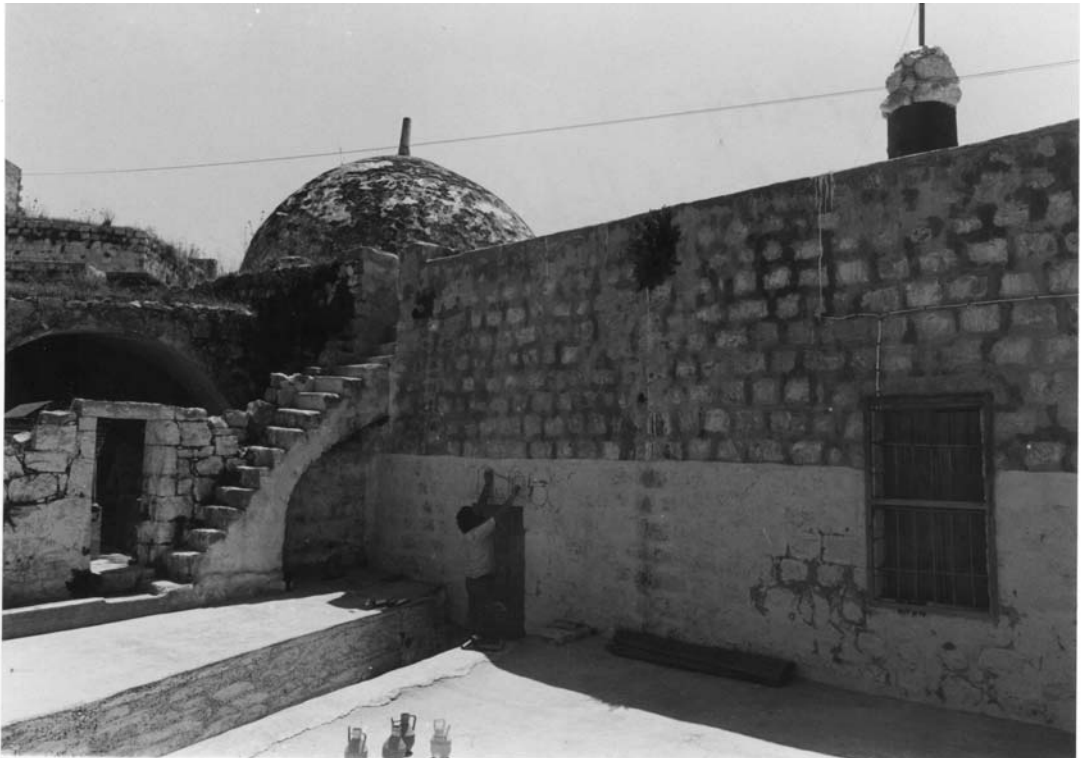


Fig. **P14**. Dayr Istiyā. The Mosque Jāmi' Amiṣiyā. Inscription 1 with decorations which are visible above the gate.



Fig. P15. Dayr Istiyā. Old Mosque, Jāmi' Amīshiyā (Photo 1941, courtesy IAA).



Fig. P16. The spring of 'Ayn al-Qalt in the autumn. Inscription commemorating the aqueduct – top left (courtesy Y. Ziv).



Fig. **P17**. Remnants of the Castle of Ma'ale Adummīm (Tal'at ad-Dam) top right – as seen from a position above Khān al-Ḥaṭhrūra, “The Inn of the Good Samaritan” – bottom left.

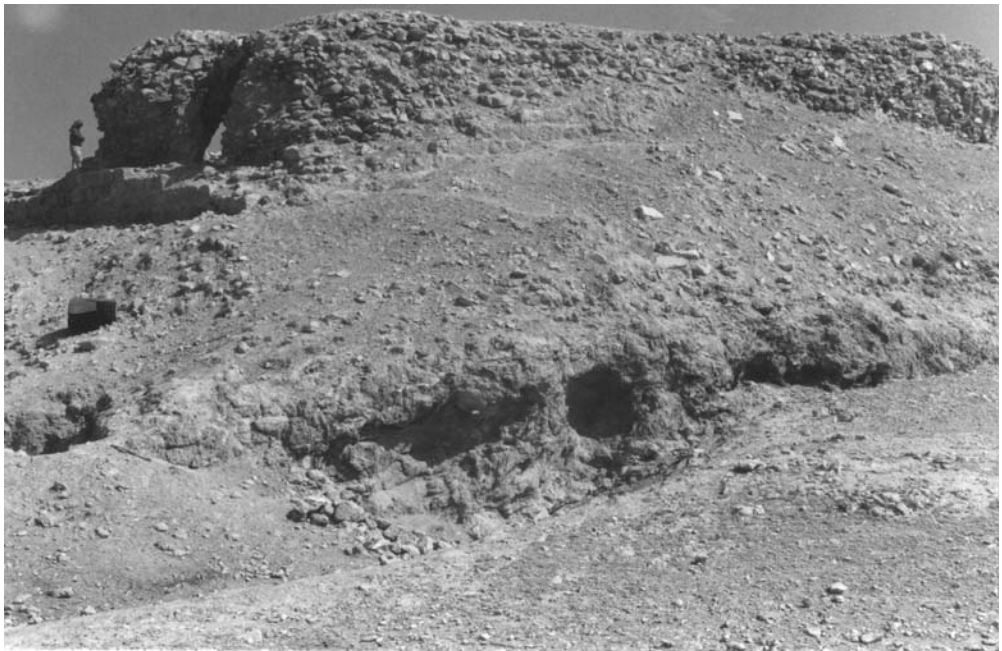


Fig. **P18**. Remnants of Castle of Ma'ale Adummīm Chastel Rouge.

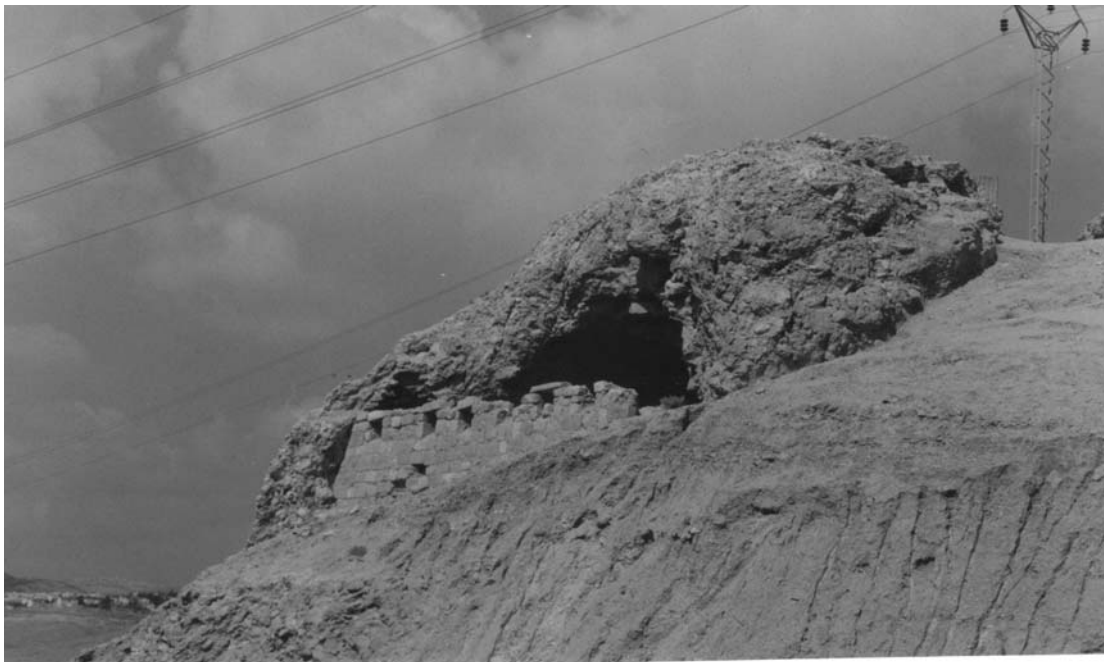


Fig. **P19**. Fortified natural cave overlooking Khān al-Ḥathrūrah, “The Inn of the Good Samaritan” below Chastel Rouge.



Fig. **P20**. Red rocks near Khān al-Ḥathrūrah. “The Inn of the Good Samaritan”, natural caves, and the old route of Ma’le Adummīm arriving from northwest (top right). Far near the horizon: the mountain ridge to the north of Jerusalem.



Fig. P21. The Monastery of St. George in Wādī al-Qalt. Hermit caves scattered along the rock walls of the canyon (Courtesy Photo Garo, Jerusalem).

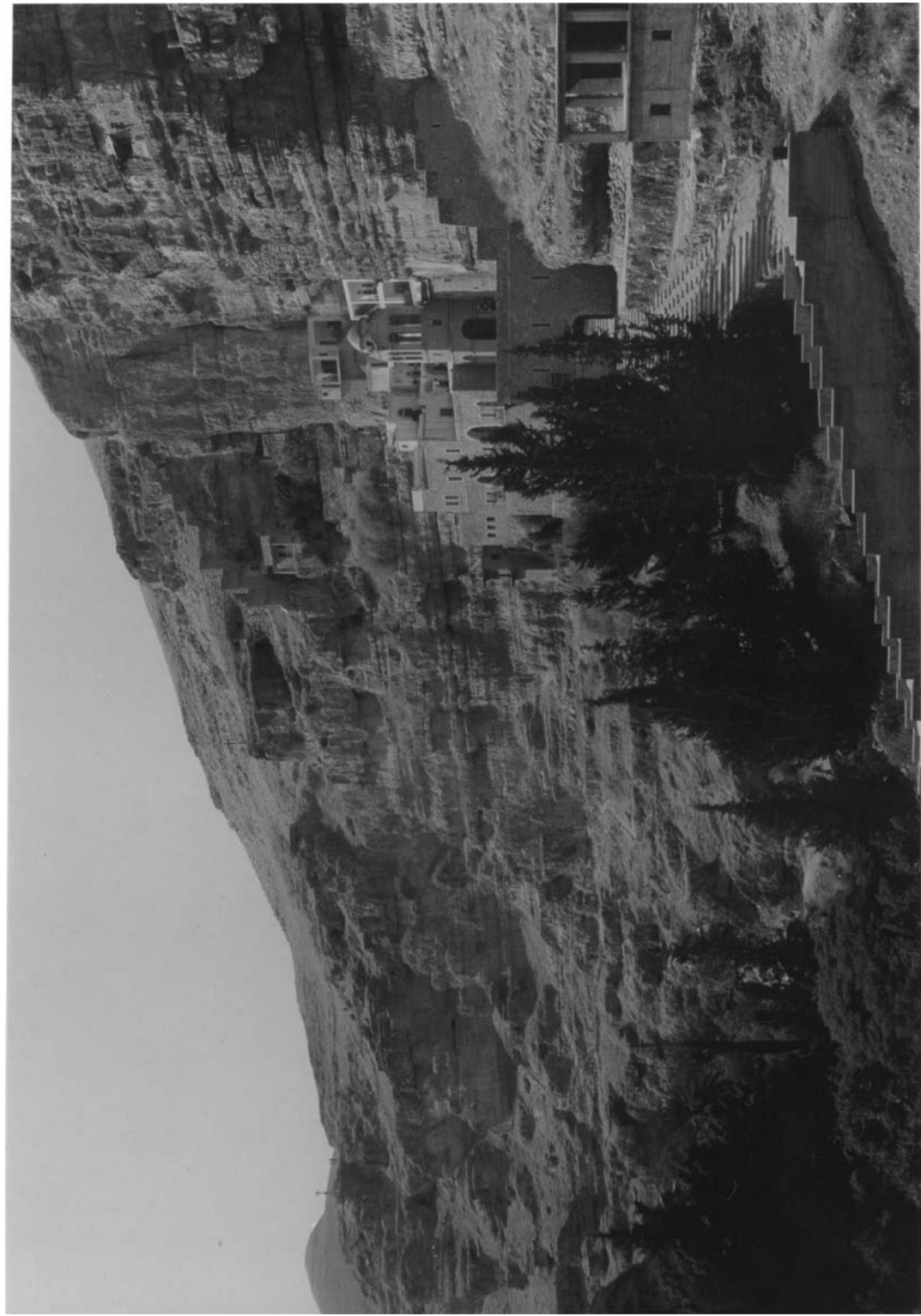


Fig. **P22**. Monastery of St. George in Wadi Qelt with Hermit caves scattered in the rock walls (Courtesy Photo Garo, Jerusalem).

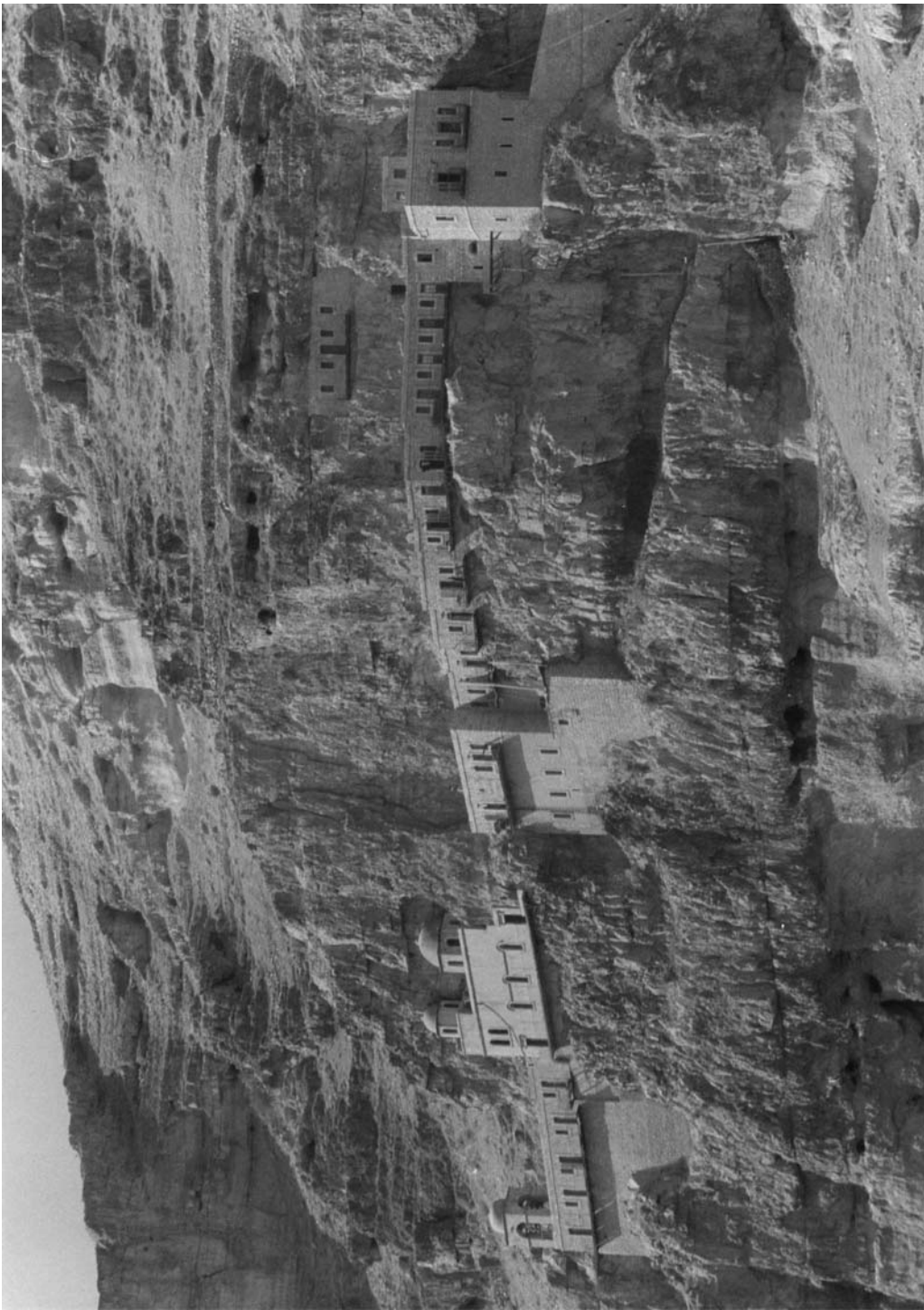


Fig. **P23**. Hermit caves, and the Monastery of Quruntul -- Mount of Quarantine, site of the temptation and 40 days fasting of Jesus (Qarantinia) to the west of Jericho (Courtesy Photo Garo, Jerusalem).



Fig. **P24**. Fresco in St. George's Monastery: likeness of St. Joachim (Photo courtesy IAA).



Fig. **P25**. Fresco in St. George's Monastery (Arabic inscription inserted between the two dark figures) (Photo courtesy IAA).



Fig. P26. The ancient route from Jericho to Jerusalem: in the middle of the Tower of Bayt Jabr, guarding it. The narrow line in the lower part, the aqueduct of Wādī al-Qalt (Photo courtesy David Amit).



Fig. P27. Bayt Jabr al-Fawqānī (Photo courtesy IAA).



Fig. P28. Dayr al-Qalt. Gate with inscription.



Fig. P29. Dayr Nabī Samwīl (from southwest). Remnants of Crusade fortifications (in the foreground).



Fig. P30. Dayr Nabī Samwīl. View to southwest, towards the Mediterranean, on the horizon.



Fig. **P31**. View from Nabī Samwīl: “to the south, the ridges of the Mountains of Judah” (Guérin).



Fig. **P32**. Dayr Nabī Samwīl. Natural spring: independent source of water for the fortress and settlement.



Fig. P33. Dayr Nabī Samwīl: Kiln for firing pottery.



Fig. P34. Dayr Nabī Samwīl: Kiln for firing pottery.



Fig. P35. Dayr Nabī Samwīl: Ancient Quarry.



Fig. P36. Dayr Nabī Samwīl: The Moat.



Fig. P37. Customhouse of Dor ȚanȚurah.



Fig. P38. Local Wali of ȚanȚurah.



Fig. **P39**. The source of 'Ayn Fiq.



Fig. **P39a**. Built canal conducting the water of 'Ayn Fiq.



Fig. **P40**. Sūsita (Hippos, Sūsiyah) from the valley of Fīq overlooking the Sea of Galilea

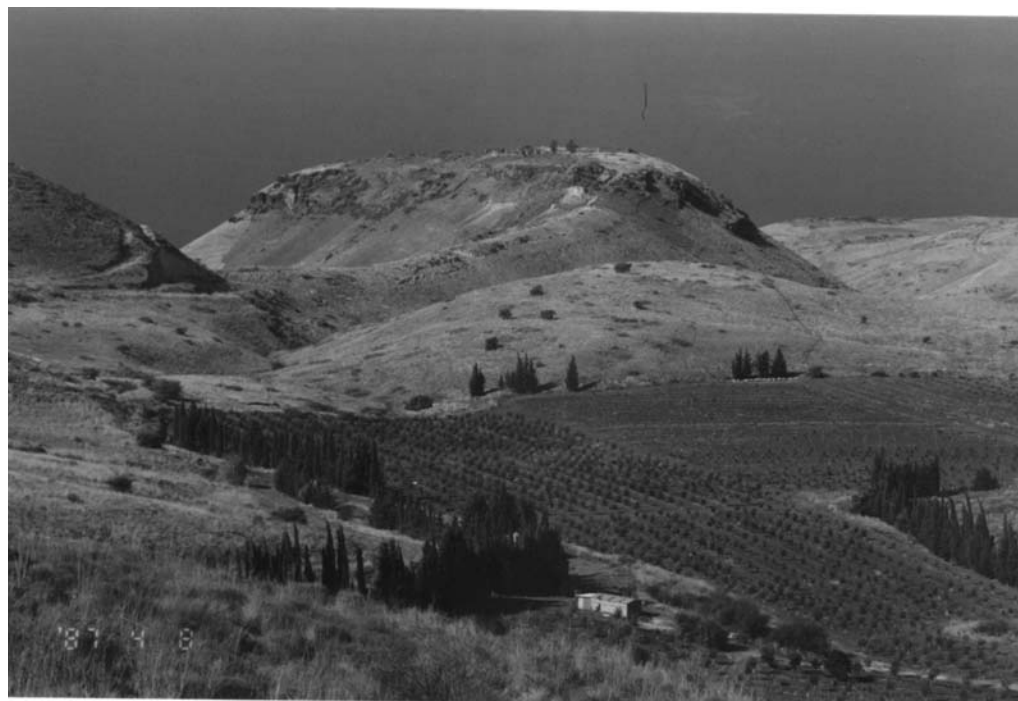


Fig. **P40a**. The hill of Hippos-Sūsita.



Fig. **P41**. Basalt boulders on the Golan Plateau.



Fig. **P42**. Ruins of a house in Fīq built with basalt stones.



Fig. **P43**. Appliances made of basalt: Oil press and flourmill (next to Khān al-‘Aqabah).



Fig. **P43a**. Trough made of basalt (next to Khān al-‘Aqabah).



Fig. P44. Fiq: the village cemetery.

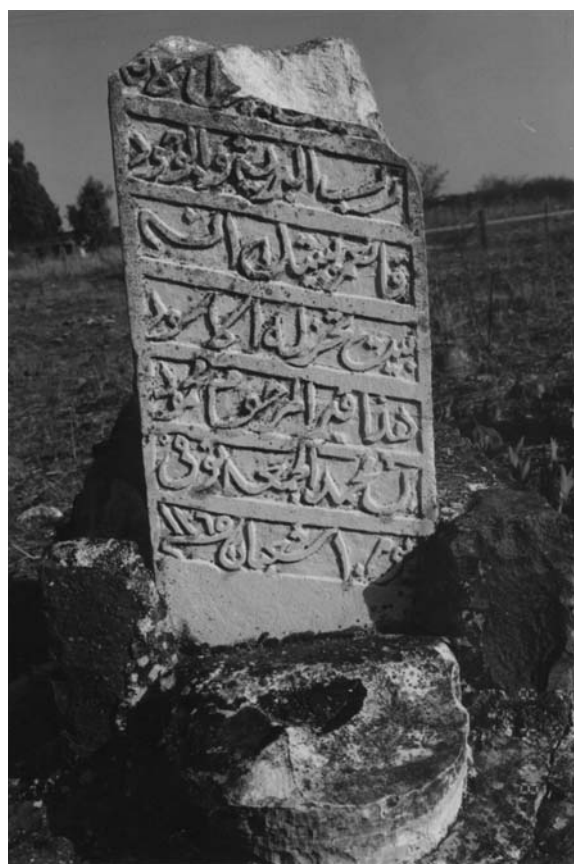


Fig. P44a. Fiq: the village with a modern tombstone from 1365/1946.



Fig. **P45**. al-Ḥammah (Ḥammat Gader) and the valley of the Yarmūk river.



Fig. **P46**. Ruins of the Khān in Tawāfiq.



Fig. P47. Khān al-ʿAqabah – General view from northeast.



Fig. P48. Khān al-ʿAqabah – general view from the south.



Fig. P49. The eastern wall of Khān al-ʿAqabah, and the main gate built with large basalt ashlars.



Fig. P50. Khān al-ʿAqabah: courtyard and gate of the northern wing.



Fig. P51. Khān al-ʿAqabah: northwestern corner built with massive basalt ashlars.



Fig. P52. Khān al-ʿAqabah; interior of northern wing.



Fig. P53. Khān al-ʿAqabah, southwestern wing: crude reconstruction. The pillar supported a mud roof.

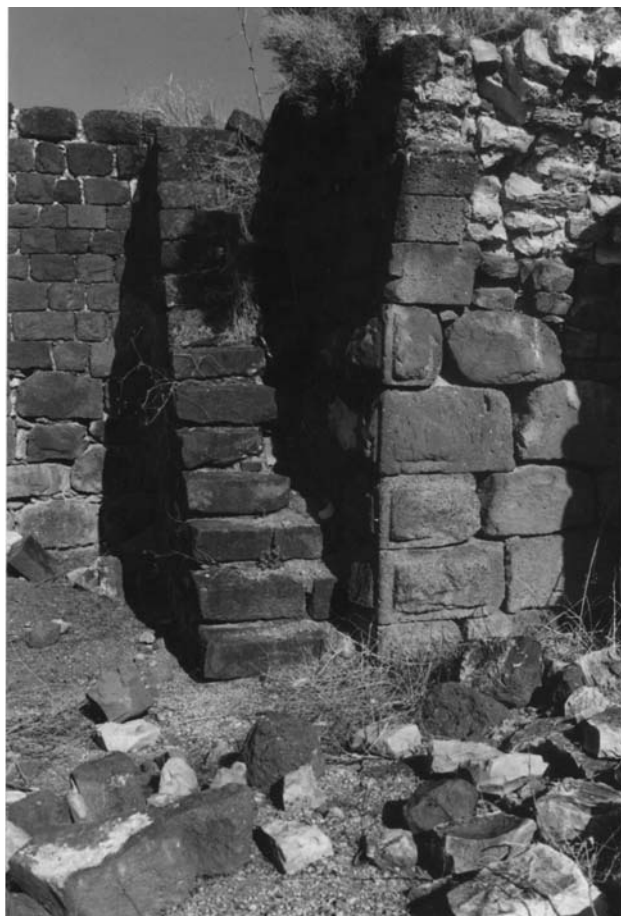


Fig. **P54**. Khān al-ʿAqabah: stairs leading to second floor.



Fig. **P55**. ʿAqabah Fīq – the route climbing from the Sea of Galilee is clearly seen on the left.



Fig. **P**56. The flat southern Golan plateau.